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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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26 June 1985

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. SPACE ARMS PLAN DESCRIBED, SIMILAR SOVIET PLANS DENIED

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Col M. Ponomarev: "Washington: A Policy of 'Dual Reaction'"]

[Text] The Militaristic Logic of the White House--USA  
Implements a Strategy of Foolhardiness--The Firm and  
Unchanging USSR Position.

Recently the Indian newspaper FREE PRESS JOURNAL published an analytical article which was called: "The United States Conducts a Policy of Dual Reaction in Regard to the USSR." What did the author mean? "The policy of a dual attitude toward the Soviet Union which is being conducted by the United States," it says in the article, "means Washington's conduct of talks with the USSR concerning a reduction in tension and, at the same time, the adoption of any measures--military, political, and economic--to attain superiority over the Soviet Union." In which regard, all these measures of the American administration in the end "are a component part of its resolve to attain world domination for itself."

It is believed that the newspaper succeeded in expressing in laconic form the very essence of Washington's political course in the international arena. Its duality, and to put it more exactly, its duplicity, is obvious. This has been confirmed anew by recent events.

On one hand, the United States began new talks with the Soviet Union on the entire complex of nuclear and space weapons. In Washington, there is now much talk about a serious approach to these talks and about the striving to achieve positive results and reduce the threat of nuclear war which is hanging over mankind. Thus, in one of the subcommittees of the Senate Appropriations Committee the question of the United States' interest in Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons was touched on by the U.S. Secretary of State, George Shultz. He assured the Senators that the President is personally "participating very actively" in this process. "He gives instructions to the group leaders," Shultz stressed. "He heads all efforts."

But on the other hand it is impossible to interpret the practical actions of the Washington administration other than as proof of its bad intentions and the striving to acquire a "position of strength" and, from this "position," to conduct affairs with both the Soviet Union and with other states. The White House not only does not conceal, but stresses in every way that it claims "world leadership." It declared half the world as the zone of its "special interests," raised terrorism and armed brigandage to the rank of state policy, is forcing the arms race on Earth, and is trying to shift it to outer space.

Perhaps in no other area has the duplicity of Washington been displayed so clearly as in its actions for realization of the "Star Wars" program and its diplomatic and propaganda cover. The Soviet press, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, has already written of this many times. And nevertheless, there is an urgent necessity to rivet the readers' attention again and again to the goals which the authors of this program have set for themselves and which they hypocritically call the "strategic defense initiative."

Even if some new name is sought for the "Star Wars" program, obviously it will be most correct to say as follows: "strategic foolhardiness." In fact, this program is one of the most important component parts of the United States' adventurous offensive strategy. For its essence consists of preventing a responsive strike after a nuclear missile attack on the USSR and the destruction or knocking-out of Soviet intercontinental missiles during the first two to five minutes after launch, that is, over the territory of the Soviet Union. Thus, it is called upon to ensure conditions for launching the first nuclear strike against the USSR without fearing subsequent retribution in so doing.

Along with the development of an antimissile defense system directed, as the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES wrote, "toward the neutralization of Soviet missiles," the United States is conducting research efforts directed toward seeing that "such a fate would never befall American nuclear missiles." The discussion concerns the creation of advanced "penetration means" capable of breaking through the "Soviet defensive system."

We cannot overlook the fact that the space weapons being developed in the United States have a dual purpose. It is intended to emplace laser, beam, and missile weapons in space. And they can also be used against both enemy missiles and against other objects in outer space, the atmosphere, and on Earth. Actually, a new class of offensive weapons is being created. And it is being created at feverish rates. Implementation of the program for the creation of an antimissile defense with space-based elements, General Abrahamson, who is responsible for its accomplishment, stated frankly on the pages of the journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, is advancing in the United States at such rapid rates that the first tests of space weapons from on board a reusable ship of the Shuttle type are planned for conduct already in 1987--two years earlier than planned.

And meanwhile, the same journal reported, President Reagan signed the directive, "Strategic Launchings for National Security." It is called upon to make more active work being conducted across the ocean on the militarization of space and, in particular, initiates efforts for the development of the next generation of reusable spaceships with the powerful Saturn-5 rocket carrier, which permits injecting military satellites into a near-Earth orbit.

It can also be recalled that quite recently the newspaper WASHINGTON POST reported on a combat manual of the U.S. Air Force which was published in 1984 as "aerospace doctrine." In it, it is stressed that space "provides an unlimited potential and possibilities for military operations." And further: "The Air Force will maintain the United States' technical superiority in the aerospace field and will ensure the potential for prolonged military operations through the creation of the means for the conduct of combat operations in outer space."

Thus, the weapons being created in accordance with the program for the preparation and conduct of "star wars" are weapons not only and not so much defensive as offensive. However much the representatives of the American administration and its supporters may repeat again and again there, they will become an integral component of a first nuclear strike which is intended for disarming the Soviet Union and depriving it of the capability to launch a responsive strike against the aggressor.

The new, hitherto unprecedented turn in the arms race will be begun by Washington not only in space. Washington is also deploying it on Earth.

Recently the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the construction of 21 more MX intercontinental missiles. Although in the White House they are persistently called the Peacekeeper, it is clear even to a non-specialist--it is a first-strike weapon, a weapon of aggression. This 96-ton missile is equipped with a multiple warhead with 10 independently targetable reentry vehicles with a yield of 600 kilotons each. One such missile possesses greater destructive force than all the explosive devices employed in the course of World War II together. Such missiles, which are distinguished by great accuracy in firing and which can be emplaced in highly-protected siloes, should strengthen the offensive nuclear potential of the United States in significant measure.

And here they did not get by without hypocrisy and double dealing. The MX program caused resistance on the part of many congressmen who correctly considered that its implementation will not strengthen the security of the United States in the slightest but can destroy the military-strategic balance with the Soviet Union. The President, and the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense, and even the head of the American delegation to the Soviet-American talks who was summoned from Geneva undertook cultivating them. Representatives of the administration frightened the congressmen by saying that if they do not approve the appropriation of funds for the MX missile a "leg of the table of these talks" would be broken and "they would collapse immediately." And here approval of the program allegedly will lead to success in Geneva.

From the numerous speeches of the chief of the White House, it became clear that his administration considers the talks with the Soviet Union not as a rare opportunity to achieve a reduction in nuclear weapons and prevent the militarization of space but as a pretext for the further buildup of the armaments of the United States. According to Reagan it appears that accomplishment of the agreed goals of the Soviet-American talks--the prevention of an arms race in space and its cessation on Earth--should be accompanied by the creation of American space weapons and the buildup of strategic first-strike strategic nuclear systems--such as the MX missiles--on Earth.

Such is Washington's militaristic logic. If it is followed, it turns out that the path to peace lies across the bosom of nuclear warheads, and to achieve disarmament their supplies must first be increased even more.

In order to somehow justify these logical vagaries in the eyes of American and world public opinion, in Washington they are not ashamed to have recourse to the basest tricks. Deceit, insinuations, the substitution of some facts for others--

everything is being put into motion. Thus, the President himself was not ashamed to state regarding military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States that it is the most ridiculous assertion which he ever heard. He declared many times that in the 1970's "America disarmed unilaterally." And this at a time when, according to evidence of the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES, the United States added 5,000 nuclear warheads for its strategic missiles, built the Trident missiles for nuclear submarines, and developed long-range cruise missiles. In examining the facts, the newspaper sums up, not one reasonable person could say that "we disarmed unilaterally."

Nor did the Pentagon remain aloof of such tricks. The latest edition of the slanderous opus "Soviet Military Power" has just been published in Washington. Even the Western bourgeois press notes that in trying to prove the unproveable in this brochure--that allegedly it is the Soviet Union and not the United States which is implementing plans for the militarization of space at forced rates and whipping up the arms race--its authors would have liked to beat down the wave of criticism in regard to the "Star Wars" program, stress the "necessity" for the development of strategic "defensive" weapons, and demand of its allies support of Washington's intentions as regards the use of space for military purposes.

What is the position of the Soviet Union under these conditions? It was clearly and sharply defined at the March (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In the future too, the Soviet Union will firmly follow the Lenin course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The USSR always responds to good will with good will, and to confidence--with confidence. But everyone should know: we will never forgo the interests of our country and the interests of our allies.

6367

CSO: 1807/278

INTERNATIONAL

NEW SUDANESE REGIME OPPOSES U.S. 'INTRIGUES', CIA PRESENCE

LD222008 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] At-Tikjani at-Tayyib Ba Bakr, member of the secretariat of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee was asked by our correspondent to analyze the situation in Sudan following the liquidation of Numayri's regime.

[Begin at-Tayyib Ba Bakr recording] The Sudanese people rose in a glorious, deep and wide uprising on 26 March last. They were able to bring down the regime of one person's rule, and began to eliminate its political, legislative, judicial and security institutions. By doing this it dealt a strong blow to the regime of agents subordinate to neocolonialism, especially American colonialism. They have paved a new road to political and social development. They have paved--rather made great strides--toward the recovery of their national sovereignty by closing the American bases and ending and abolishing all the agreements harming national sovereignty. They have also embarked on the establishment of a democratic rule which allows the people to exercise their rights and basic democratic freedoms, especially free expression, organization, political and trade union activity.

All these are great and glorious steps with wide scope. But there are dangers, many difficulties and complications facing the current situation. Among these difficulties are the American intrigues which, during the time of the defunct regime, were able to establish military bases as staging posts for the Rapid Deployment Force in the Arab and the African region. There were also American economic interests, and CIA intelligence experts used to work inside the Sudanese state security apparatus. In fact the Sudanese state security apparatus was itself the regional center for CIA interests. The CIA had infiltrated it to the extent that it implemented tasks for the CIA extending as far as Nigeria, Mali, Chad, Congo, Zaire, Uganda, Libya, Ethiopia, and the PDRY. Therefore, there are great dangers resulting from American imperialism's infiltration of Sudanese political life, the state apparatus and the Sudanese security organs. Therefore, American imperialism is expected to do all it can to bring back the defunct regime or to replace it, or to work for the establishment of a regime which represents and defends American interests in the region.

There are also internal forces--remnants of Numayri's regime represented in the remnants of the Socialist Union, the state security apparatus, the Muslim Brotherhood, parasitic capitalism--all these are forces working for the return of the ancient regime or to substitute it with a regime which defends their interests, that is, a regime which secures for them their practices under the shadow of the regime of butcher Numayri.

This plotting faces confrontation and readiness by the Sudanese democratic forces and all the forces which took part in the uprising who opposed Numayri in order to stop him. Indeed, there is the possibility--if these forces unite, escalate their activity and organize their ranks--of defeating these plots, completing the objectives set by and slogans of the 26 March uprising, and consolidating the support of a democratic regime which paves the way to major social and political development in Sudan and secures for all the forces the exercise of their freedom and rights and the enjoyment of the national sovereignty of their land--Sudan [end recording]

CSO: 4504/359

INTERNATIONAL

MEXICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS CRITICIZE U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 85 p 1

[Article by V. Silant'yev: "Mexico: Disagreement With the U.S."]

[Text] The Reagan Administration should cease its aggressive policy in Central America, stop the economic embargo against Nicaragua, sit at the negotiating table with the Sandinista government and not in words, but in deeds support the Contadora peace process.

Mexican parliamentarians advanced these demands at a meeting with their American colleagues, taking place in Mexico. Mexican president Miguel de la Madrid spoke at the meeting, calling for development in the region of good-neighborly relations, mutual respect and recognition of the rights of people to self-determination.

The posing of such a question is not accidental. Washington is carrying out a policy of open pressure and blackmail in relations to all the countries south of the Rio Grande, including Mexico. At the meeting the Mexican parliamentaries stated directly that Washington is trying to exert pressure on Mexico with the goal of changing her independent foreign policy.

The representatives of the U.S. delegation justified the Reagan policy in regard to Nicaragua using the specter of the "communist threat," but "promised" to report the Mexican point of view to the White House. The Mexican press characterized the meeting as "without results."

CSO: 1807/324



INTERNATIONAL

USSR PRAISES IRAN'S REVOLUTION, HITS ANTI-SOVIETISM

NC061204 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1000 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Unattributed commentary: "A Page in the History of Iran's National Liberation Struggles"]

[Text] Dear listeners, 22 years have passed since the anti-Shah demonstrations in Qom. This day is now being celebrated in Iran as a day of national uprising.

As you know, in 1963 Mohammad Reza Shah announced the so-called revolution of the shah and the people. A variety of reforms that benefited the leadership and Iran's subservient bourgeoisie were included in this program. The focal point of this so-called revolution was the sale, at rather high prices, of portions of the property owned by the shah and the big landowners and of the religious endowment to farmers who were quite well off. These reforms, which hurt millions of poor people, who were unable to purchase land, were portrayed by the shah's propaganda network as a great blessing for the country's farmers.

The shah hoped to use the land reforms to create a fulcrum for himself in the villages and among the rich who exploited the farmers, by which to direct Iran toward capitalist growth. The residents of Qom and, later, those of other Iranian cities, demonstrated against the demagogic reforms implemented by the shah 22 years ago. These demonstrations upset the shah's propaganda fabrications, which alleged that the shah's white revolution had removed the need for a red revolution--that is, for a profound social revolution.

After 5 June 1963 it became evident that the Iranian people intended to continue their struggle against the shah's regime and their efforts to secure genuinely democratic changes. These demonstrations (?lay the foundation) for the 11 February revolution, which overthrew the shah's pro-imperialist regime.

There are now some in Iran who seek to allege that the Qom demonstrations meant that the Iranians did not want any change to take place in their lives and their traditions, which had existed for centuries. However, such allegations are baseless. If the Iranians opposed all change and reform, they would not have fought against the shah's regime and carried out the revolution. At the time, these same persons wanted the Iranian people to accept the widely-disseminated slogan of "God, the Shah and the Nation." The shah's ideologies claimed that the concept of a shah flowed in the blood of every Iranian and that the monarchy would continue in Iran for all eternity. The demonstrations against the shah's reforms, against oppression by foreign capitalists, and against the

decadent Western civilization, which had acquired roots during the shah's regime, proved, as did the 11 February revolution, that the Iranians want freedom, that they are striving to create a new democratic life. These wishes and intentions of the Iranian people have always enjoyed the solidarity and support of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union's policy helped to strengthen the democratic movement in Iran and (?condemned) the Iranian people's domestic and foreign enemies. It was no accident that the democratic movement in Iran 22 years ago grew more active after the Soviet Union revealed CENTO's aggressive plans, which included nuclear blows against Iran's northern cities in case of war. In connection with this, it should be stressed that the slogan of "Neither East Nor West," which was being disseminated by the shah's propaganda network then and is also being used now, is empty and meaningless. One would have to be politically blind not to see the basic difference between the relations with Iran pursued by the Soviet Union and those sought by the imperialist West, headed by the United States. The Soviet Union hopes to expand goodneighborly relations and cooperation based on equality and mutual benefits with Iran, while the West's imperialist countries are trying to drag Iran back into their sphere of influence, to control it and to greedily exploit its oil wealth.

Thus, the so-called "Neither East Nor West" slogan, which equates Iran's relations with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union on one hand with its relations with the imperialist West on the other, is beneath contempt. The Iranian workers, who have filled many bright pages in the history of national and anti-imperialist struggles, remain faithful to the tradition set during the days of the 5 June 1963 uprising and the 11 February revolution.

CSO: 4640/602

INTERNATIONAL

WARSAW PACT HISTORY, TASKS, ACHIEVEMENT SURVEYED

AU051318 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 5, May 85 (signed to press 19 Apr 85) pp 56-63

[Article by L. Nezhinskiy, doctor of historical sciences, "author of works on the history of countries of the socialist community:" "Alliance in the Name of Peace and Security of Peoples (On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Warsaw Pact Organization)"]

[Excerpts] On 14 May of this year 30 years will have passed since the day of the signing of the Warsaw Pact whose existence, as the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has pointed out, is "inseparable from the consistent consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and their joint counteraction against the aggressive militarist policy of the United States and its NATO allies, and from ensuring peace and security in Europe and the entire world." (Footnote 1) (PRAVDA, 7 September 1984) This great political event is widely observed by the working people of the Soviet Union, the peoples of countries of the socialist community, and the progressive world public. The enemies of real socialism, too, have not let their "attention" bypass it. The mass information media in Western Countries are trying to use that date to blacken and present in a distorted light the essence and activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the countries of the socialist community. However, this political-ideological action has not produced the desired results for Western propaganda services. The entire history of the Warsaw Pact Organization and its concrete activity--widely and objectively elucidated in the works of Marxist scientists and by the Soviet press and the press of the fraternal socialist countries--incontrovertibly attest to the true humanist essence of that alliance and its consistent peace-loving nature.

In their class nature and in its goals and methods, the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization are fundamentally different from all coalitions existing in the past or at present. This is an alliance of sovereign and equal socialist states that are united by the community of their social system and communist ideals, a defensive alliance that is called upon to protect the peaceful work of fraternal peoples and strengthen European and international security. As the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, the "military-political

defensive alliance of the countries of socialism faithfully serves peace. It has at its disposal everything needed to reliably protect the socialist achievements of people. And we will spare no efforts to ensure that this will be so also in future." (Footnote 2) ("Documents of the 26th CPSU Congress." Politizdat, 1981, p 6)

The Warsaw Pact Organization has been subjected to massive psychological attacks and has represented the focal point of a sharp ideological struggle from the very first moment of its formation. Western political scientists, bourgeois-revisionist authors, and conservative political figures have continued to strive to this very day to distort the essence of the Warsaw Pact Organization and to place it on the same level with NATO and other aggressive militarist blocs. As distinct from the NATO block that was formed 6 years earlier, the Warsaw Pact Organization has in fact an exclusively defensive and peace-loving character. The organization came into being as a countermeasure of socialist states to the aggressive policy of the imperialist blocs and was formed only after the European socialist states had done everything in their power to prevent the division of the world into antagonistic military-political alliances.

To understand the causes leading to the formation of the Warsaw Pact Organization, it is appropriate to [words indistinct] even if only in general outline, the international situation in which this organization was born.

As is known, as early as in the first postwar years the U.S. imperialist circles, supported by the monopolies of other capitalist countries, embarked on a policy of creating such an international situation which would enable them to use the "policy of strength" as their supporting base to drive back or possibly liquidate world socialism and overcome the deepening general crisis of capitalism at the expense of the USSR and the countries of people's democracy. This situation marked a sharp turn from the cooperation established between the countries with different social systems within the anti-Hitlerite coalition during World War II toward the adventurist policy from a "position of strength" and toward a direct confrontation between the Western powers, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, on the other, which was subsequently defined as the "cold war."

Thus, the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact was the consequence of an objective necessity under the conditions of which the European socialist countries had to live and act, and the collective expression of the will of fraternal countries.

The conclusion of the Warsaw Pact was a most important landmark in the history of world socialism. Together with the bilateral treaties of friendship, mutual assistance, and cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries within the framework of CEMA, the Warsaw Pact appeared as a powerful international legal factor that consolidated all aspects of fraternal ties between European socialist countries.

In conformity with the UN Charter, the member-states of the Warsaw Pact Organization assumed the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations, to solve disputes by peaceful means, and to consult each other on all important international issues concerning their common interests. They stated their readiness to participate in all international actions aimed at ensuring international peace and security and to strive for the adoption of effective measures for a general reduction of armaments and for banning the weapons of mass destruction. The pact provided for immediate assistance with all means, including the use of armed force, in the event of an armed attack in Europe against one or several member-states of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

Thus, a reliable bulwark of peaceful work of the peoples of socialist states was created and a joint defense system of the socialist community was built with the founding of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Protecting each individual socialist member-country of the pact against imperialist oppression in any form and against any encroachment upon its freedom and independence, and ensuring the inviolable borders of the countries of the socialist community became the collective task of fraternal countries.

The guarantee for the protection of the socialist states is their united defensive might the nucleus of which is the defensive might of the Soviet Union. The nuclear missile shield of the first country of socialism represents a firm barrier on the path of the imperialist aggressors' inflammatory plans.

Strengthening their own defense, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries do not strive for military supremacy, as they have emphasized more than once. Their intentions have never included nor will they ever include any threats to any individual state or group of states. Their strategic doctrine has a purely defensive orientation.

Member-states of the Warsaw Pact Organization note in their collective documents that they resolutely oppose the division of the world into antagonistic military blocs and the arms race. At the same time, they emphasize in these documents: As long as the NATO bloc exists and as long as the militarist circles continue to arms race, the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Warsaw Pact will continue to strengthen their military-political alliance. (Footnote 6) ("Warsaw Pact Organization," pp 220, 232, 251-252, 268-270)

The achievement of the approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO and between the USSR and the United States represents one of the most important results of recent decades, and this result objectively makes peaceful coexistence between states with different social system possible. The achievement of this equilibrium has required considerable efforts and resources of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other countries of the socialist community.

In the struggle for peace, security, and detente the fraternal socialist countries show consistency and a principled attitude, a constructive approach and goodwill, boldness in initiatives and realism in negotiations, and readiness to consider the legitimate rights and interests of others.

The greatest success of the past decades is that the tragic circle in which peace represented a mere breathing space between world wars has been successfully broken and that a struggle has been successfully developed to eliminate wars from the life of human society forever.

The significance of the coordinated collective foreign policy line of the socialist community, aimed at eliminating the threat of thermonuclear war and preserving life on earth, has especially increased at the contemporary stage when the international situation has sharply deteriorated and the danger of a nuclear war breaking out has intensified through the fault of the aggressive imperialist circles, including primarily those in the United States.

Member-countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization oppose the policy of undermining detente, arms race, and military confrontation with their consistent course aimed at strengthening peace and developing international cooperation, reducing arms, and promoting rapprochement and mutual understanding between peoples. All collective decisions and actions of the Warsaw Pact countries are based precisely on such a course.

Confirming and further developing the consistent peace-loving course of the fraternal socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs declared in the final document of its 3-4 December 1984 session that opportunities for changing the situation for the better exist but that what is needed for this purpose is a shift toward a policy of realism and business-like interaction in solving the tasks facing the peoples of Europe and other continents. What is needed is a serious and equal dialogue between states with different social systems, and negotiations in which the sides would recognize the high responsibility placed on them and strive for positive results. The ministers welcomed the accord between the USSR and the United States on holding negotiations on the entire complex of interconnected problems of the nonmilitarization of outer space and reduction of strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons. (Footnote 8) (PRAVDA, 7 January 1984)

Joint defense of the achievements of socialism and a collective rebuff to the intrigues of the imperialist forces against the cause of peace and democracy represent one of the main goals of the military-political alliance of socialist states. The period since the signing of the Warsaw Pact has convincingly demonstrated how correct and necessary that measure was. The unification of the military-economic potential and political efforts of the fraternal countries of socialism has enabled them to build a strong system for defending the socialist achievements against the aggressive and counter-revolutionary attempts of the enemies of socialism.

This is what happened in the fall of 1956 when the socialist system in Hungary was threatened with liquidation as a result of a counterrevolutionary revolt unleashed by the internal counterrevolution and international reaction, and when the fraternal countries came to the aid of the Hungarian working people. This is what happened in August 1961 when the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization resolutely supported the protective measures taken by the GDR Government along the border with West Berlin, which was used by international imperialism for undermining purposes.

Fulfilling their international duty, the Soviet state and other socialist member-countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization in 1968 gave their timely and resolute support to the Czechoslovak Communists and workers class in their struggle against the forces of internal and external counterrevolution, and for Czechoslovakia's firm socialist development and the preservation of the unity of the countries of socialism.

At the beginning of the eighties, the countries of the socialist community resolutely repulsed the attempts of the imperialist forces to interfere in Poland's internal affairs and to exploit events in Poland as a fuse for further undermining and exacerbating the international situation. "Our confidence and calm optimism," W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR has emphasized, "are strengthened by the attitude of allied solidarity and trust and the fraternal assistance we have felt and continue to feel as being shown toward and extended to us, first and foremost, by the USSR, but also by other fraternal socialist countries." (Footnote 9) (PRAVDA 13 October 1983)

The selfless help of the socialist community and the united front of socialist states have stood as a mighty barrier on the path of the aggressive aspirations of American imperialism in relation to Cuba.

The victory of the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle against the imperialist aggression provided a most striking testimony of the effectiveness and importance of internationalism of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam facilitated the victorious conclusion of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. The peoples of Indochina highly value the comprehensive and effective assistance extended to them by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

An important aspect of the activity of countries of the socialist community is their joint support for the national liberation movements of peoples and their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

During sessions of the Political Consultative Committee the member-states of the Warsaw Pact Organization have raised their voice more than once in defense of the freedom and independence of the peoples of Indochina, the Near and Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. The participants of the Warsaw Conference of the Political Consultative Committee (in May 1980) stressed the need for a political settlement of the situation that had

developed around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a result of the undeclared war waged against it by the United States and the reactionary forces of contiguous states, including primarily Pakistan. A settlement of this kind should reliably guarantee a complete cessation and non-recurrence of any form of outside interference aimed against the government and people of Afghanistan.

The (1983) Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Organization emphasizes the need for solving the longest and most dangerous conflict, the Middle East conflict. The countries of the socialist community condemned Israel's invasion of Lebanon as well as those who supported it from abroad, and demanded an immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and the ensuring of the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

Member-countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization demand that the policy of constant threats and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua be ended and that an end be put to all outside attempts at interference in their internal affairs.

In the contemporary difficult international situation the fraternal socialist countries hold high the banner of peace and socialism and wage a persistent struggle for the ideals of progress and democracy and for the preservation of life on earth. The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the heads of delegations of member-states of the Warsaw Pact confirmed the aspiration of the pact's member-states to strive to reduce world tension and eliminate the threat of nuclear war, for effective measures in the sphere of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and not to permit the militarization of outer space. It was emphasized at the meeting that the strengthening of the unity and cohesion on fraternal countries and the intensification of coordination of their actions in the international arena assume a special significance in the conditions of difficult international situation. (Footnote 10) (PRAVDA, 14 March 1985)

The great and noble mission of socialism is successfully furthered by the time-tested combat alliance of fraternal countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Considering the Warsaw Pact Organization as a most important instrument of preservation of peace and security of the countries of socialist community, the member-states of the Warsaw Pact Organization signed in Warsaw on 26 April 1985 the Protocol on extending the pact for another 20 years.

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INTERNATIONAL

## SOUTH AFRICAN SABOTEURS' ATTACK ON CABINDA ALLEGED FAILURE

### Military Action Described

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 85 p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Nikonov: "Battle in Cabinda"]

[Excerpts] At the headquarters of FAPLA (Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) a reconnaissance report was received : A group of saboteurs from the RSA [Republic of South Africa] had been introduced into the northern province of Cabinda. Soldiers were dispatched to comb the area.

Soon one of the patrols discovered a group of people armed to the teeth. The soldiers resolutely attacked the enemy. In the short battle they killed two of the uninvited guests and captured one. At the battle site a whole arsenal of abandoned weapons, materiel, explosives and several radio transmitters were discovered. On the majority of the trophies were markings of South African plants and factories. The captured saboteur confessed that the composition of his group was made up only of RSA military personnel who were tasked with blowing up one of the facilities of the Angolan oil extracting industry in the region of the population point of Malonga.

In a communique from the PRA Ministry of Defense, published in connection with this, it is noted that the racist regime with this action once again obviously demonstrated its aggressive essence. Hypocritically talking about the "need to achieve peace in southern Africa" Pretoria is not ceasing its attempts to destabilize the situation in Angola. The RSA military continues to render multifaceted aid to the counterrevolutionary bands of UNITA and is turning over to them a large amount of weapons.

Of course, the RSA announcement about the total withdrawal of its soldiers from Angolan territory is only a regular propaganda maneuver. According to the evidence of refugees from the province of Cunene, South African mercenaries from the notorious 32d Punitive Battalion "Buffalo" are carrying out their piratical raids along with UNITA bands.

The racist military leadership, unable to defeat the Angolan people in open battle, is carrying out strikes from "around the corner" trying to cause chaos in the country. The defeat of the bands of saboteurs in Cabinda showed that Pretoria's plans are doomed to fail.

Follow-Up Commentary

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 85 p 5

[Commentary by Igor' Tarutin: "An Act of Aggression"]

[Text] The RSA government has officially acknowledged that its saboteurs were secretary operating in the north of Angola. They are talking about the attempt by a commando detachment to blow up an oil refining structure in the province of Cabinda. The Angolan Army spoiled this bandit-like action. During the battle two of the saboteurs were killed and one captured. Personnel of the South African Armed Services took part in this demolition operation. Captured equipment included 16 magnetic mines, 2 incendiary bombs and 4 packages of explosives.

Thus, as they say, Pretoria was caught red-handed. This is not the first time they are crudely violating the sovereignty of the young republic. In spite of taking on itself the responsibility, the RSA did not withdraw its forces from the southern regions of Angola, where they invaded in 1982. Nor are they ceasing to aid the UNITA bands who sow death and destruction in Angola.

The insolence of the RSA ruling circles is explained in first place by the patronage of its western guardians, particularly the United States. It is extraordinary in this connection that the U.S. State Department expressed only dutiful "regret" regarding the "incident" in Cabinda. At the same time it was clearly stated that no concrete steps would be taken to limit its connections with Pretoria and the course of "constructive engagement" is to remain unchanged.

Knowing that her overseas partners will always cover her, the RSA behaves provocatively. This is not only in relation to Angola. The racists are not stopping attempts to destabilize other neighboring African countries, to overthrow the existing progressive regimes there. Thus, the RSA is continuing to support the terrorist anti-government group NRM [National Resistance Movement] in Mozambique although an agreement on "nonaggression and good neighborliness" was signed between the two countries. They are not ceasing intrigues against Zimbabwe, Botswana, or Lesotho. Recently Pretoria actually blocked the process of normalization in Namibia.

Stating in words their desire for peace, the South African leadership in deeds is carrying out its former aggressive policy. The Western accomplices of the RSA, who refuse to adopt sanctions, approved by the United Nations, against the regime of apartheid, also bear the responsibility for this.

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INTERNATIONAL

ITALIAN CASE AGAINST BULGARIANS 'VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL LAW'

PM031503 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 17, Apr 85 p 23

[Article by Prof David Levin: "Riding Roughshod Over International Law"]

[Text] Italian justice has joined in the provocative campaign certain circles have launched against the People's Republic of Bulgaria and its citizens in connection with the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II made by Mehmet Ali Agca on 13 May 1981. Antonio Albano, deputy public prosecutor of the appellate court of Rome, instituted criminal proceedings against three Bulgarian citizens--Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev.

Apart from the fact that the charges brought against the Bulgarian citizens are based on Agca's slanderous testimony and are consequently totally unfounded, the inclusion of Ayvazov and Vasilev in the indictment is a gross violation of international law inasmuch as both men, who are now at home in Bulgaria, were at the time of the attempt members of the Bulgarian embassy staff in Italy and enjoyed diplomatic immunity.

In keeping with international law, and specifically according to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 (Article 39, Clause 2) of which Italy is a signatory, the jurisdictional immunity of members of diplomatic missions "with respect to acts performed by them in the exercise of their functions as members of the mission" continues to remain in force after their tour of duty ends. This point has been specially emphasized in a number of works on international law.

For instance, M. Giuliano's course in international law (Italy) cites a decision of the Swiss Federal Department of Political (Foreign) Affairs which states: "International law recognizes that immunities cease when the mission of a diplomatic agent ends, except with respect to actions performed in the exercise of his official function.... It follows herefrom that a diplomatic agent who in pursuit of his functions commits a crime in Switzerland cannot be prosecuted, if upon departure from our country, he happens to return in a non-diplomatic capacity."

Antonio Albano invokes Article 39 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations which states that the immunity ceases as soon as the person enjoying it leaves the country. Yet further on, the article says: "However, with respect to acts

performed by such a person in the exercise of his functions as a member of the mission, immunity shall continue to subsist." Albano maintains that this does not apply in the given case, and hence the right of Ayvazov and Vasilev to immunity from jurisdiction cannot be recognized.

Judging by reports in the Western press, the position of the Italian authorities is this: the actions with which Ayvazov and Vasilev were charged cannot be regarded as having been performed in the exercise of their diplomatic functions within the meaning of Article 3 of the above convention.

However, the Italian authorities themselves recognized that the actions with which Ayvazov and Vasilev are charged were of a political character and, consequently, were performed in the exercise of their functions as members of a diplomatic mission. Thus, reference to Article 39 of the Vienna convention does not make the preferring of charges legitimate.

From the legal point of view the inclusion in the indictment of Ayvazov and Vasilev, then members of the Bulgarian embassy staff, is a flagrant violation of international law. From the political standpoint it is an act of gross provocation against Bulgaria, evidence of a desire to cast aspersions on that country and its policy. The trial is to be held in May. The stand taken by the Italian courts has evoked strong protest from the Bulgarian Government. If they do not change their position, Italian justice will be discredited.

CSO: 1812/234

26 June 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## ILO ANSWER TO SOCIALIST STATES' COMPLAINTS CRITICIZED

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 23, Jun 85 pp 14, 15

[Article by R. Panteleimonov]

[Text]

The Declaration of Socialist Countries on the Position in the International Labour Organization has evoked world-wide comment. Mr Francis Blanchard, Director-General of the ILO Secretariat, promptly reacted to it, too, by submitting to the Organization's Governing Body his remarks on the document. In this way, the Director-General hastened to share the responsibility for the alarming situation that has existed for some time in the ILO with its Governing Body and, at the same time, to drown in the flood of paper at ILO Geneva headquarters the document tabled by the socialist countries on the eve of the 71st International Labour Conference, opening on June 7.

Even a cursory glance at the "commentaries and explanations" the Director-General has issued in connection with the socialist countries' Declaration will show that he has essentially nothing to say about the substance of their negative assessment of the results of the ILO's activity and their demands for radical reforms. At a loss for an answer, Mr Blanchard makes clumsy attempts to justify himself. Now he says it "would be unrealistic" to think that the ILO can solve certain problems "alone" (the socialist countries justly accuse it of ignoring these problems). Now he claims that the unfavourable situation in the labour world has taken shape despite the Organization's efforts. Now he invokes the ILO's rules of procedure to justify discriminatory measures the International Labour Office has taken against the progressive forces. In other words, the Director-General's line of defence is much like that of the hapless girl in the Oriental parable who said in self-defence: "In the first place I didn't take the jug, and, secondly, it broke itself."

Let the reader judge for himself of Mr Blanchard's "self-defence."

In their Declaration, the socialist countries point out that the steady growth of unemployment in the non-socialist world, with its concomitant suffering, disease, starvation and despair which are the lot of those left without a job or even unable to get the first job in their life, calls for urgent action on the part of the ILO. Nevertheless, as is plain for all the working people to see, the International Labour Organization has actually kept aloof from that pressing problem and made no real contribution towards solving it. The World Employment Programme the ILO announced in 1969 has done little to reduce unemployment. On the contrary, the army of the unemployed has swollen from 8 million in 1969 to 32 million today in the industrialized capitalist countries, and from 90 million to 360 million in the developing countries. "It is, unfortunately, all too true," Mr Blanchard admits, "that unemployment and underemployment remain at alarmingly high levels in spite of the ILO's efforts." Exactly what efforts has the ILO undertaken to combat unemployment? All the Director-General has to say on this score is that the ILO has "reviewed the development plans, policies and programmes of governments of various countries," "assessed the efforts of countries," "paid particular attention," "analyzed," "examined," and "drawn attention." As if the ILO were an information bureau or a magazine editorial office.

Yet the ILO itself claims to be a universal interstate forum for dealing with social and labour problems. It is its mission to impel the member states to improve working conditions, the employment situation and social security. Mr Blanchard cannot deny that. In his explanations he admits that the ILO is in duty bound to "mobilize political will to do something about the problem" of unemployment. What indications are there that the ILO is fulfilling its duty? "Its most effective means of doing this is through the Employment Policy Convention (No. 122)," the Director-General says. Such a statement by a man occupying such a responsible position is surprising, to say the least. After all, Employment Policy Convention No. 122 was adopted in 1964 against the background of a cyclic reduction of unemployment in the

countries prone to this social evil. The ILO revised this Convention in 1983-84, when unemployment grew to unprecedented dimensions and when the talk about "full, productive and freely chosen employment" sounded especially hypocritical. It is common knowledge that by "full" employment the West means not the complete elimination of unemployment but keeping it within "normal limits." "Productive employment" usually means maintaining a high level of exploitation of the workers by those who reap the profits—the employers. As to the "freedom" of the choice of employment, it suits the employers fine because as chronic unemployment grows and the army of reserve labour swells, job applicants are forced to accept whatever is offered them.

Mr Blanchard is quite law-abiding. He says the reason why the ILO has confined itself to supplementing Convention No. 122 with another recommendation was that "an overwhelming majority" of the employment committee members at last year's ILO session "preferred a recommendation which gives guidance." Again, the question arises: why hasn't the International Labour Office suggested, on its own initiative, that truly radical anti-unemployment measures be worked out beginning with the drafting of a convention on the right to work? The socialist countries' Declaration on the Position in the International Labour Organization states pointblank: "The ILO has made no progress either in an area where, it would seem, it should have been the first to have its say—in contributing to inclusion in the Convention of the right to work, the worker's fundamental right." By way of answering this direct reproach, the Director-General refers to Paragraph 1 of the above-mentioned "recommendation" supplementing Convention No. 122 on the so-called "full" and "productive" employment which Mr Blanchard regards as "the means of achieving in practice the right to work."

One cannot help wondering why the Director-General has mentioned this right just in passing, and how he understands that right. After all, the right to work has been proclaimed by the U.N. in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development (1969), and enshrined in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). Why does not ILO provide—on its own behalf and in accordance with the letter and spirit of its own Constitution—a clear-cut legal definition of the right to work in the interests of the workingman? So far the ILO is obviously siding with Big Business rather than with labour. This is evident from the fact that instead of upholding the right to work, the Organization talks about "productive" employment, i.e., employment profitable to the employers. It certainly looks as if Mr Blanchard is out to rename the ILO the International Big Business Organization.

This attitude to the right to work, a fundamental human right, has not prevented the Director-General from dismissing the just accusations of being preoccupied with minor aspects of the employment problem.

Hard as he might try, Mr Blanchard cannot ward off the criticism levelled by the Declaration at the ILO for deliberately impeding the effort for peace and disarmament. As distinct from the other U.N. specialized agencies, the ILO does nothing to give effect to the U.N. resolution on measures pertaining to the disarmament process. For quite a long time, the administration of the ILO Secretariat would not even hear of discussing the disarmament problem and its social aspects on the pretext that this is beyond the Organization's competence. However, ever newer and ever more sinister arms spirals finally brought it home even to those at ILO headquarters that continued disregard for this urgent problem would be tantamount to open contempt for the opinion—and interests—of millions of the working people. Working people the world over are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the arms race is an enormous burden to them. Arms manufacturing kills more jobs in the civil sphere than it creates in the military sphere. The war budgets are swelling at the expense of social welfare programmes, and missiles swallow up the money which otherwise could have been spent on food and clothes.

The Director-General is trying to soothe the worried public by prattle (if he will forgive us the word) about the need to collect and analyze the materials first, and to get down to discussions, symposiums, publications and other verbal exercises "at a later stage."

The Director-General has no substantive arguments with which to counter the charges in the Declaration about the ILO being used for ideological subversion against socialist countries, about attempts to interfere in their internal affairs, about the ILO's so-called supervisory machinery increasingly assuming the functions of a judicial body in respect of a certain group of countries. All Mr Blanchard could think of was a cynical statement that the countries which object to having trumped-up charges levelled against them in the ILO can lodge a complaint with the U.N. International Court of Justice. He somehow fails to see that accusing whole groups of sovereign countries of alleged violations of the ILO rules on the strength of the slanderous assertions of individual renegades is unworthy practice.

It seems to be beyond Mr Blanchard's grasp that the ILO is an organization of a universal character. He cannot raise any objections of principle against the Declaration's indisputable arguments for the need to change the structure of the ILO, to stop the practice of giving the key posts in the International Labour Office to a narrow group of Western countries, to ensure an equitable geographical distribution of posts there, to give effect in practice to equal co-operation of states with different social systems. He tries to manipulate with scanty statistics, or rather with arithmetic, but the results work against him. It makes no difference to him that East European countries hold only three out of 82 top posts at the International Labour Office, that only once has a representative of a socialist country presided over an ILO International Labour Conference, and that just one assistant (not deputy!) of the Director-General is a citizen of a socialist country. Indeed, something is rotten at ILO headquarters, and the Director-General has only added to this impression by his hasty and totally ungrounded pronouncements.

INTERNATIONAL

SOCIALIST BASIS OF HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC SUCCESSES STRESSED

AU190501 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 85 (signed to press 28 Mar 85) pp 79-92

[Article by V. L. Musatov: "Hungary: Along the Path of Socialism and Peace"]

[Text] On 4 April 1945 the Soviet Army, which had completed its defeat of the troops of Hitlerite Germany and their Hungarian minions, liberated Hungarian territory. This event has rightly become the biggest national holiday of the Hungarian people, signifying a great turning point in their thousand-year history. The dawn of a new life rose over the country and before the working people there opened up a path of social liberation, radical socioeconomic change, and the formation of a genuinely free, independent, and democratic Hungary. Under the leadership of the communists and with the participation of all of the nation's progressive forces a broad popular-democratic revolution was carried out in Hungary, which later developed into a socialist revolution. The stage of building a new life began.

During the 40 years that have passed since the country's liberation from fascism, under the leadership of the MSZMP, the successor and continuer of the glorious internationalist traditions of the first Hungarian communists, the working people of the republic have achieved historic success. Overcoming the opposition of the internal class enemy and repelling the attacks of imperialist forces, the Hungarian workers class and peasantry, led by their revolutionary vanguard and supported by the USSR and fraternal socialist countries, laid the foundations of socialism in their country in a short historical space of time and are now successfully conducting work to develop socialism further.

The successes of the Hungarian people in the building of a new society are impressive and gladden all supporters of socialism throughout the world. Since 1950 to the present day the national income of the Hungarian People's Republic has increased more than 5 times, the volume of its industrial production--almost 15 times, and the volume of its agricultural production--more than 2 times. The Hungarian People's Republic is an equal member of the socialist community and actively participates in the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization and CEMA. By following a peace-loving foreign



policy course in the international arena--a course jointly developed and coordinated with its allies, the fraternal socialist countries--Hungary makes a considerable contribution to the struggle of the socialist countries for improvement in the international situation, against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and for disarmament and peace.

The 40 years since Hungary's liberation have been a period of consolidating and deepening relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which has historical traditions, has now become a powerful factor in joint progress and the vital cause of millions. Communists and all the working people in Hungary are preparing for the day of liberation from fascism in an atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm, armed with the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress.

The battle between the Red Army and the fascists on Hungarian territory lasted 6 months and was distinguished by particular bitterness. Hitler had given orders to hold on to positions in Hungary at all costs, especially around Budapest, in order to close the Soviet troops' approaches to Austria and southern Germany, where a significant part of the Reich's military industry was concentrated and the so-called Alpine Redoubt had been built. In addition to this, with its oil deposits and grain resources, Hungary was the last source of supply for the Hitlerites. The fulfillment of these plans was assisted by the Hungarian fascists-Nyilas party members, who were direct proteges of Berlin and had been brought to power by the Germans during the coup on 15 October 1944.

Horthy's reactionary regime, which took control of Hungary after the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 and drew the Hungarian people into an anti-Soviet war, proved incapable of breaking with fascist Germany and crossing over to the side of the anti-Hitler coalition. Primarily concerned with his own interests and attempting to save the bourgeois-landowning system, Horthy's main hope was for the arrival of Anglo-American troops in Hungary. He rejected the proposals of communists, social-democrats, and other patriotic forces to prepare to break with the fascist bloc and to arm the workers. Having begun negotiations with the Soviet Union, under pressure of the real situation, the Horthy powers conducted these negotiations dishonestly and failed to fulfill the conditions of the Soviet command. Horthy's attempt to leave the war turned into a pitiful farce.

In these conditions, the only political force in Hungary which rallied the antifascists and fighters for the country's liberation was the Communist Party. It urged the people to struggle for an independent, democratic Hungary and to organize armed resistance and the overthrow of the fascist regime. But the armed struggle of the Hungarian patriots did not develop on a broad scale because of brutal terror, unbridled chauvinistic propaganda, and the difficult conditions of their illegal position.

Despite this, there existed in Hungary, "albeit on a small scale, armed resistance to the German occupiers and the Nyilas puppet regime. A total of more than 7,000 participated in partisan detachments in Hungary, in armed

groups of the resistance movement, in the Budai volunteer regiment, and in smaller Hungarian subunits which had gone over to the side of the Soviet Army and turned their weapons against the fascists. Many thousands of Hungarian fighters participated in the liberation struggle of other peoples. Hundreds of Hungarian communists who had emigrated to the Soviet Union fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army..."<sup>1</sup>

On 23 September 1944 Soviet troops occupied the first inhabited locality in Hungary--the village of Battonya, and then the town of Mako. Troops from the 2d and 3d Ukraine fronts and the Danube flotilla participated in the liberation battles. Units from the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, and Romanian armies fought with them. In the course of the long and cruel battles the Soviet Army troops broke the resistance of the German fascist cutthroats and their Hungarian minions. The Debrecen operation, the battles for Budapest, where a large group of Hitlerite troops was blockaded, and the battle in the region of Lake Balaton entered the history of the Great Patriotic War as unforgettable pages. Fulfilling their international duty, the Soviet soldiers demonstrated mass heroism and steadfastness.

When entering Hungarian territory the Soviet troops had the aim of helping to free the Hungarian people from the enslavers and rendering assistance in the restoration of their national independence and sovereignty. An address by the Military Council of the 2d Ukraine Front to the country's population in October 1944 stated that the Soviet Army had crossed the Hungarian border not with the aim of territorial acquisition, but by force of military necessity, "not as a conqueror, but as the Hungarian people's liberator from the German fascist yoke."<sup>2</sup>

By 4 April 1945 the whole of Hungary's territory was free. On this day, said J. Kadar, "a new page began in the history of the Hungarian people; our people once again won national independence and the possibilities of development and social liberation opened up before them. For our people, liberation is synonymous to their finding their motherland for the second time, and 4 April has rightly become their greatest national holiday."<sup>3</sup>

The new, democratic state and its organs began to take shape in the liberated areas of Hungary. The cohesion of all of the nation's antifascist forces was one of the most important conditions of the victory over reaction and of democratic development. A program of national rebirth was necessary. The communists were the only political party able to draw up such a program. At the initiative of the Communist Party and with the participation of the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasants Party, and the Smallholders Party, the Hungarian National Independence Front was formed in December 1944 in the city of Szeged, which adopted the program proposed by the communists for struggling against fascism and for national development, democratizing the country, implementing land reform, and nationalizing mineral resources, mines, and electric power plants. The next step was to convene the Provisional National Assembly in Debrecen, which approved the membership of the Provisional National Government.

The members of the government were politically heterogeneous, reflecting the current correlation of class forces. It was headed by Colonel-General B. Miklos. As in other East European countries, the existence of a coalition government in Hungary was a characteristic feature of the first stage in the people's democratic revolution. A message from the new Hungarian Government to the USSR Government in December 1944 stated that it had broken with the fascist bloc and was ready to conclude a truce with the Soviet Union and the other states in the anti-Hitler coalition and to declare war on Hitler's Germany.<sup>4</sup>

Supported by the workers class, the Hungarian Communist Party developed work to organize normal life in the country. An important role in democratizing Hungary was played by the national committees set up in the field and by the plant committees in the enterprises, which were led by communists. The land reform carried out in spring 1945 was an undertaking of historic significance. It destroyed the last remnants of feudal relations. A total of 650,000 peasants were given land. Lands were confiscated from fascists, war criminals, and landowners with more than 100 kholds (1 khold is equivalent to 0.57 hectares). The agrarian reform was carried out by the peasantry in a revolutionary way, with the support of the workers class headed by the Communist Party, despite opposition by right-wing forces incorporated in the government. As a result of the reform the social structure of the village was changed and the landowning class liquidated. Implementation of the land reform strengthened the alliance of the workers class and the peasantry, and increased the authority of the communists.

The Communist Party channelled its efforts into ensuring unity of action among all of the nation's progressive forces interested in popular-democratic changes, and primarily into expanding cooperation between the two parties of the workers class--the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. An agreement on the unity of their actions was signed in October 1944.

One of the chief issues in the country's revival was that of restoring the economy. The agrarian reform stimulated agricultural production. The factory committees organized production and maintained order. An important step in the direction of socialist transformation was that of introducing general worker control over production and the commercial activities of factories and plants. Mobilizing all democratic forces to restore the economy, communists emphasized at their first legal all-Hungarian conference in May 1945 that it was possible to fulfill this task by relying on internal sources and assistance from the USSR. By that time, approximately 150,000 members filled the ranks of the Hungarian Communist Party. The restoration of transport and the "battle for coal" were developed at communist initiative.

Implementing the program of democratic changes, purging and democratizing the state apparatus, forming a new police force and army, calling war criminals and traitors to account, and developing a foreign policy program took place in the conditions of acute class struggle. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties tried to preserve the capitalist system in Hungary

and institutions of the bourgeois state, and to defend private property as far as possible. Their influence was still considerable. At the parliamentary elections held in November 1945 the Smallholders Party received 57 percent of the votes, the Communists and Social Democrats--17 percent each, and the National Peasants Party--7 percent.

On 1 February 1946 Hungary was declared a republic. Grouping themselves around the Smallholders Party, particularly around its reactionary wing, and influencing rightwing reformist forces in the Social Democratic Party and rightwing forces in the National Peasants Party, reactionaries tried to stand in the way of social changes in Hungarian life and to wreck revolutionary processes.

A left-wing bloc of representatives of the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the National Peasants Party, and also of the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions was formed in March 1946 at communist initiative. It worked to continue the popular-democratic changes and to defend the land reform. These demands were also supported by the democratic wing of the Smallholders Party. The National Assembly approved a draft law on the nationalization of mines and five of the largest metallurgical and machine construction enterprises were placed under state control. One of the most serious political issues of the period was the problem of struggling against inflation and stabilizing finance. Financial reform and the introduction of a new monetary unit--the forint--in August 1946 was an important component part of the plan worked out by the Communist Party to stabilize the economy.

But the situation in the national economy was serious and the total volume of industrial production in 1946 was only 60 percent of the 1938 level. The serious difficulties caused by the war and also capitalist sabotage had their effect. It was impossible to stop halfway. The Communist Party began drawing up a 3-year plan for the country's development, which was approved at the Third Hungarian Communist Party Congress (28 September-1 October 1946). (The first Communist Party Congress was held under illegal conditions in Vienna in 1925, and the second was held in 1928 in Aprelevka near Moscow.) A course was proclaimed at this congress to further consolidate the popular-democratic system and to peacefully develop the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. "Only a people's democracy will make it possible for the country to develop along the path toward socialism without civil war," it was emphasized in the materials of the congress.<sup>5</sup> Contemporary bourgeois propaganda continues to allege that socialism was supposedly brought to the countries of Eastern Europe "on the bayonets" of Soviet troops. In response to this false thesis one can say that the Soviet Army indeed brought many peoples of Europe liberation from fascist enslavement and eliminated the possibility of the struggle of the popular masses for national and social liberation being bloodily suppressed, as well as the possibility of imperialist intervention. But the Soviet troops did not interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. In each of these countries there existed different objective and subjective prerequisites for socialist revolution and establishment of a socialist system, which were the result of a broad, internal revolutionary process.

As the general democratic revolution crossed over to a socialist path, the opposition on the part of reactionary forces, clericals, the right wing of the Smallholders Party, and certain petty bourgeois elements increased. The demarcation of political forces also increased. Supported by imperialists, rightwing leaders of the Smallholders Party embarked on active counterrevolutionary actions. The defeat of a reactionary plot and the exposure of reactionary antinational plans at the end of 1946 and beginning of 1947 led to a strengthening of leftwing forces in the Smallholders Party. The leader of the left wing of the Smallholders Party, I. Dobi (subsequently a member of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic), became chairman of this party, and, instead of F. Nagy who had fled to the West, L. Denes was elected prime minister.

At the new parliamentary elections in August of the same year the bloc of democratic parties gained a firm majority--61 percent. More than 22 percent of the voters voted for the communists, and so they became the strongest party in parliament. The Communist Party won five seats in the government, the Smallholders Party and the Social Democratic Party--four each, and the National Peasants Party--two. The elections consolidated the positions of revolutionary forces. The new government worked out a 3-year plan which came into effect from 1 August 1947. A law was soon passed on the nationalization of the major banks, and in March 1948 industrial enterprises with more than 100 workers in their employ were also nationalized. Thus the economic power of the large bourgeoisie was liquidated. A total of 85 percent of industrial enterprises and mines became state property. The socialist sector gained key positions in the economy.

At the end of 1947 and beginning of 1948 reactionary elements were removed from the parties incorporated in the National Independence Front and anti-national, reactionary parties and associations were dissolved. At the same time the process of restoring the unity of the workers movement and uniting Communists and Social Democrats on the principles of Marxism-Leninism was in motion.

In practical terms, joint actions began at a low level and later reached intermediate level. In July 1948 a unified party of the workers class--the Hungarian Workers Party--was formed at a unification congress. The split in the workers movement was thus liquidated. The unification was the political conclusion of the process of the general democratic revolution developing into a socialist revolution. Under the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party the Hungarian people began building the foundations of socialism. The year 1948 went down in the history of Hungary as a "crucial year."

On 15 February 1948 the first Soviet-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was signed, which served as a firm guarantee of Hungary's national independence and security. The Soviet Union was the first power to recognize Hungary as an equal partner and to offer it a hand of assistance. USSR foreign policy prevented direct interference by imperialist forces in the processes of revolutionary change in the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the second half of 1948 and during 1949 major political and socioeconomic changes of a socialist nature were carried out in Hungary: Industrial and transport enterprises employing more than 10 people were nationalized, the socialist sector became the predominant sector in industry, wholesale trade, and finance, and production cooperatives began to be formed in rural areas. As a result of parliamentary elections in 1949 the exploitative classes were no longer represented in the supreme organ of power.

In August 1949 the State Assembly proclaimed Hungary a people's republic and adopted the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic which stated that "all power belongs to the working people" in the country, and the task of building socialism was set. By the end of 1949 the 3-year national economy plan had been fulfilled ahead of time--in the space of 2 and a half years. Industrial production exceeded the 1938 level by 28 percent and agriculture reached prewar level. Fulfillment of the first 5-year plan began in the Hungarian People's Republic in January 1950. During the 1950-1954 period the national income increased 1.5 times and industrial production doubled. A system of organs of people's power--soviets--was formed throughout the country. The cultural revolution developed.

At the same time the development of the Hungarian People's Republic in this period was affected by errors on the part of the party leadership, these errors being connected with a sectarian-dogmatic approach, subjectivism, and a personality cult. Influenced by initial success, a course was adopted to industrialize the country at a forced pace and the Leninist principles of organizing the peasantry into cooperatives were violated. Excessively high plan tasks and the slogan of economic autarchy led to disproportions in the national economy and to a drop in living standards.

All this took place in an atmosphere of exacerbated relations between the two world systems, and "cold war" stepped up by imperialism, and the U.S. administration's proclaimed doctrines of "liberating" the socialist countries and "rolling back communism."

Healthy forces in the party attempted to rectify the situation and to introduce necessary amendments to the work of the Hungarian Workers Party and the activities of its leadership. The measures adopted at the Central Committee plenums in March and July 1956 in particular, and also positive changes in the makeup of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party made it possible as a whole to halt the negative development of events, although implementation of these measures was inconsistent and the situation was one of intensified struggle of the sectarian-dogmatic wing and rightwing revisionists, which weakened the party's unity and capacity for action. Making use of the errors permitted by the Hungarian Workers Party and the perfidy of revisionists, internal and international reaction went onto the offensive. A crisis situation had formed by autumn 1956. As analysis subsequently conducted by the MSZMP shows, the simultaneous effect of these factors was the cause of the counterrevolutionary revolt that flared up in October.<sup>6</sup>

In the conditions of the political crisis in autumn 1956 the fate of socialism in Hungary was under threat and the achievements of the socialist

revolution had to be defended. The MSZMP Central Committee headed by J. Kadar, a loyal son of the Hungarian people, a prominent figure in the Hungarian revolutionary workers and international communist movement, and a true communist-internationalist, became the new revolutionary party center. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed which, on 4 November 1956, appealed to the people to defend the achievements of socialism. In response to a request by the new government the USSR assisted in defeating the armed bands of counterrevolution.

The MSZMP made persistent efforts to restore law and order and to rally and consolidate party ranks. The All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference in June 1957 was the final stage in the reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist party. Hungarian communists concentrated their attention on winning the support of the broad masses of the population and ensuring their participation in work to continue socialist construction.

A significant role in strengthening the political and economic situation was played by assistance given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also by the support of the progressive community throughout the world. The Seventh MSZMP Congress (November-December 1959) drew important conclusions from the lessons of the struggle against counterrevolution and determined future party tasks in the building of socialism in Hungary. The congress set the aim of "completing the construction of the foundations of socialist society."<sup>7</sup> Directives for the second 5-year plan for the development of the Hungarian national economy in 1961-1965 were also worked out at the congress.

During the 1957-1962 period historic changes took place in Hungarian rural areas. By the end of 1961 a total of 96 percent of all arable land belonged to the socialist sector--state and cooperative farms. This meant that socialist production relations had triumphed not only in the cities, but also in the countryside. The socialist transformation of agriculture occupies an important place in the history of Hungary. Fulfillment of this task signified a new stage in the development of socialist construction.

Hungary's experience in the socialist restructuring of agriculture is of interest to many countries resolving this task. The MSZMP's correct political aims in the spirit of the Leninist cooperative plan were combined with a number of practical economic measures which took into account the country's specific national conditions. In the course of organizing cooperatives in the villages the MSZMP Central Committee rejected the views of those who underestimated the comprehensive effect of the political, economic, and organizational measures.

An important element in the MSZMP's experience in the socialist reorganization of agriculture is that of successfully resolving the so-called "dual task" of simultaneously forming agricultural production cooperatives and achieving growth in the volume of their production. The mass transition by individual peasant-farmers to the path of a collectively run economy and the party's agrarian policy made it possible to form large socialist enterprises in Hungarian agriculture, increase the land's crop capacity and livestock productivity, and intensify production.

In the second half of the fifties and beginning of the sixties the Hungarian economy continued to develop at a high rate. In 1962 the socialist sector accounted for 96 percent of the national income. During the 1956-1960 period the rates of industrial production averaged 7.5 percent, progressive branches--machine construction and the chemical industry--developed especially rapidly, and new enterprises were built. The number of workers in industry increased and the qualitative makeup of the workers class improved.

Foreign trade relations expanded, primarily with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member-countries. Together with its Warsaw Pact allies, Hungary has struggled for peace and detente and against the threat of nuclear war.

Important changes took place in the social class structure of Hungarian society. Great success was achieved in the country in carrying out the cultural revolution and developing the education system, the positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology were consolidated, and the alliance between the workers class and the cooperative peasantry was still further strengthened. The MSZMP's leading role in society was enhanced. All these changes signified the completion of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The Eighth MSZMP Congress held at the end of 1962 established the foundations of socialism.

Speaking at the congress, J. Kadar noted that the fulfillment of this historic task by the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic meant that the way to restoring capitalism had been closed forever and that the Hungarian people could rightly say that "having united with the international forces of socialism and relying steadily on these forces, they have achieved success in socialist construction that is incontestable and eternal. The Hungarian people have begun the era of the complete construction of socialism."8-9 [footnote number as published]

The tasks of strengthening the socialist foundations and continuing the construction of a new society at a higher stage of socioeconomic development were outlined and elaborated in the decisions of the 9th (1966) and 10th (1970) MSZMP Congresses. In Hungary, as in other socialist countries in Europe, by relying on Marxist-Leninist teaching, CPSU experience, and the documents of international conferences of communist and workers parties, communists have reached the conclusion that the process of laying the foundations of socialism is followed by a comparatively long period of strengthening and perfecting these foundations. This presupposes elaborating higher criteria and demands for development on socialist principles, including developing productive forces and production relations, the political system of society, and socialist democracy, strengthening the positions of Marxism-Leninism, increasing socialist awareness, and perfecting the forms and methods of party work, the party being the leading force of society.

As the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian people, the MSZMP has indicated the path of the country's further progress--a path which Hungary is now successfully following. In the fulfillment of its program aims, the MSZMP is guided by the general laws of building socialism while also taking



into account the country's specific national features. "The MSZMP's experience and the well-known shocks which have befallen the Hungarian People's Republic convincingly show," noted J. Kadar, "that one cannot violate the general principles and laws of building socialism with impunity. Any deviation from them--in the direction of right or 'left' opportunism--undermines the leading role of the party and consequently hampers and prolongs the struggle for power, slows down socialist development, and, what is more, can even knock a country from the path of socialism."<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, an important issue is that of correlating general laws with the national features of socialist construction. The MSZMP believes that following general laws does not exclude, but demands consideration of national features. "The main task is to take the necessary account of and to simultaneously implement both the general, international, basic laws of socialist construction and the special features of the country's national development and conditions," emphasized J. Kadar.<sup>11</sup>

The path trod by Hungary in the last 40 years serves as confirmation of the general laws of building socialism--the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the workers class, the firm alliance between the workers class and the cooperative peasantry, defense of the people's revolutionary achievements, a planned economy on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, reorganization of industry and agriculture on socialist principles, and implementation of cultural revolution. All the historic changes in the life of Hungary would have been impossible without the leading and guiding role of the MSZMP. Its place and role as the "leading force" of society have now been consolidated in the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The principle of party leadership and the leading role of the party is subjected to constant attacks by imperialist propaganda and opportunists within the ranks of the workers movement. The MSZMP takes a consistent stand in the matter of exposing these views of right- and "left"-wing revisionists. While fulfilling its leading role, the MSZMP determines the main directions of work to build and develop socialism while elaborating new proposals and tasks, mobilizes the masses to carry out these proposals and tasks, and controls the course of fulfillment of adopted decisions. A one-party system was historically formed during the socialist revolution in Hungary. As the ruling party, the MSZMP regards its leading role not as a privilege, but as serving the cause of the people.

In his article "Some Lessons of Building Socialism in Hungary" (the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1977) J. Kadar wrote of the necessity for continual efforts by the party to strengthen its ties with the masses, which is now embodied in the MSZMP's course to form socialist national unity and in its policy of uniting all classes and strata of society, the basis of which is accord with the aims of building socialism.

Developing and implementing an economic policy which answers the tasks of increasing social production efficiency, setting the national economy on a path of intensive development, and ensuring growth in the people's well-being

is the subject of the MSZMP's special attention. Proceeding from the premise that in politics and in socioeconomic development there is always a main link which the party must seize, because the fulfillment of all other tasks depends on this link, throughout the sixties to the eighties the MSZMP Central Committee has concentrated attention on increasing the efficiency of economic work. After several years of preparation the reform of the system of economic management was carried out in January 1968. Its special feature is that it combines the principles of centralized planning with economic regulating in the conditions of increased independence and responsibility for the enterprises.

Economic reform in the Hungarian People's Republic was mainly aimed at making a transition to intensive development, because extensive growth factors had been exhausted in the sixties. The beginning of the seventies was one of the most successful periods of development for the Hungarian planned economy. Thus, during 1971-1975 the national income increased by 35 percent in comparison to 1970. As much as 96 percent of the growth in national income and industrial production was achieved by increasing labor productivity.

However, in 1974 processes began in the world economy that were unfavorable to the Hungarian People's Republic and which for a long time had a negative effect on the development of its national economy. It is well known that in Hungary approximately half of the national income is realized through foreign trade. The proportions of exchange in foreign trade deteriorated under the influence of the energy and monetary crises in the capitalist economy. As a result of these changes Hungary was forced to annually export 20 percent more products than at the beginning of the seventies. A foreign trade imbalance appeared as a consequence of this in the second half of the seventies and Hungary also began to rapidly accumulate a foreign debt. Under these conditions shortcomings in the economy came to light, which had been well known before, but less noticeable with the good conditions on the world market. Realistically evaluating the situation, the MSZMP Central Committee and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic adopted and continue to adopt a series of measures aimed at halting unfavorable processes in the economy.

The tasks of ensuring stable economic development were discussed in detail at the 12th MSZMP Congress (1980). Further improving the balanced nature of the economy and increasing its intensification were put forward as the main tasks for the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1981-1985). In the social sphere it was recognized to be necessary to maintain the level of the people's well-being. As far as the basic tasks of the 5-year plan are concerned, statistics for 1984 attest to positive changes in the development of the Hungarian economy. For 3 years running a positive trade balance has been achieved in convertible currency (\$600 million in both 1983 and 1984), growth of the foreign currency debt has been checked, and there has been a noticeable trend toward a gradual reduction of this debt. Hungary has succeeded in preserving its solvency. A significant growth in labor productivity has been ensured. Programs for economizing raw and other materials have been successfully implemented and the consumption of energy per unit of production has been reduced.

The purposeful work of the party and state organs, economic and social organizations, and labor collectives, including the scale of socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the liberation from fascism and the 13th MSZMP Congress, has yielded its results. The results of 1984 attest to the successful fulfillment of the annual plan. After a period of temporary restrictive measures (the forced suspension of development rates, the restriction of production and personal consumption) the Hungarian economy is gradually gathering force. In 1984 the national income increased by 2.8-3 percent and the total volume of industrial production by 3 percent. Labor productivity grew by more than 3.5 percent. Great success was achieved in agriculture, the volume of production of which increased by 2.5-3 percent. A record grain harvest was gathered--15.7 million metric tons--2 million tons more than in 1983. The average wheat crop per hectare was 54 quintals, and the average corn crop--59 quintals. Meat production grew by 2 percent, totaling 2.4 million metric tons. Public consumption and real income increased by 1 percent.<sup>12</sup>

The same indexes of economic growth are also planned for 1985, the final year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan period. A program of measures to further perfect the present system of national economy planning and management has been set in motion this year in the Hungarian People's Republic. The tasks of intensifying production, improving the qualitative indexes of industrial, agricultural, and transport work, economizing on raw materials and energy, and accelerating scientific-technical progress are at the center of this program of measures. This work, which is calculated to cover a number of years, is of a comprehensive nature, affecting the system of planning, economic regulating, and price formation, as well as the organizational structure and the sphere of labor resources.

Over the course of 4 decades a success of historic significance has been achieved in Hungary: The people's power has been formed and consolidated, means of production means have been socialized, a planned economy is functioning, the large-scale development of industry and the socialist reorganization of agriculture are in progress, full employment for the population has been ensured, a reform of national economy management has been carried out, socialist democracy is being developed, socialist national unity is becoming stronger, the citizens' general culture and political and professional knowledge are being enhanced, and growth in the people's well-being has been ensured.

Bourgeois propaganda frequently contrasts the experience and achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic to that of other socialist countries, thereby trying to drive a wedge into their mutual relations. Western ideologists try to claim that the "secret" of Hungary's success lies in its introduction of capitalist methods and its encouragement of the private sector. How far this is from the truth is attested to by the simple fact that, according to statistics from the Hungarian People's Republic, the proportion of the private sector in the national income is only 4-5 percent. Household plots in Hungary, which account for up to one-third of agricultural production, are an integrated part of social production and develop with its assistance and on its basis. As far as the methods of economic

operations are concerned, then, as J. Kadar emphasized in his speech in summer 1984 at a workers conference in Budapest, "Hungary is successful precisely because it uses socialist methods. While striving to learn to work more flexibly and efficiently, we wish to perfect the system and activities of the fundamental institutions of the socialist system."<sup>13</sup>

Noting the successes of the Hungarian people at the contemporary stage of development, which has been complicated by unfavorable foreign trade conditions, the negative effect of crisis manifestations in the capitalist economy, and the increase in international tension caused by the aggressive policies of the United States and NATO, and self-critically pointing out shortcomings and errors in domestic economic work, the MSZMP has mapped out the tasks of the party and the people in a spirit of realism in order to overcome difficulties which have arisen and to ensure the systematic and dynamic development of the national economy.

In the conditions of intensified ideological struggle in the world arena, the MSZMP deems it necessary to decisively rebuff hostile propaganda, struggle against views and manifestations alien to socialism, and intensify educational work among young people. It calls for a strengthening of the party's leading role, increased unity and cohesion, and also increased discipline within the party ranks, and stronger ties between the party and the masses. The touchstone of party unity is its steadfastness and consistency in upholding and implementing MSZMP policy.

Soviet-Hungarian friendship and cooperation, which are in the vital interests of our countries and peoples, have become a powerful factor in our joint progress forward along the path of building socialism and communism. Our greatest achievement is the fact that this friendship and cooperation have become the vital cause of millions upon millions of Soviet and Hungarian people. A determining role in developing and deepening Soviet-Hungarian relations is played by the CPSU and the MSZMP, whose fraternal relations are characterized by unity of views in the approach to the main issues of the contemporary era: The USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic act together with the other countries of the community in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for disarmament and improvement in the international climate. The system of meetings between the leaders of the two parties and the exchange of visits by party-state delegations are of great significance for coordinating actions. In this respect, the Soviet-Hungarian talks during the visit to the USSR by a Hungarian party-government delegation in summer 1983 were a remarkable phenomenon. There was intensive contact between members of the leadership of the two parties in 1984, when their determination to steadily develop and strengthen Soviet-Hungarian friendship and comprehensive, fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic was confirmed.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation is an important factor in our interaction. The Soviet Union accounts for more than 30 percent of the Hungarian People's Republic foreign trade turnover, and in 1984 the volume of our reciprocal trade reached a level of 8.6 billion rubles.<sup>14</sup> Favorable prospects for developing trade-economic relations between our countries in

the new 5-year plan period (1986-1990) have been opened up by the results of the summit-level CEMA Economic Conference held in 1984.

Deliveries of Soviet oil, gas, electrical energy, and other types of raw materials, and also of machines and equipment, are vitally important to the Hungarian economy. Our country has given and continues to give technical assistance in building and reconstructing a whole series of national economic establishments in Hungary, including the construction of the Paks nuclear power plant which already provides up to 23 percent of all electrical energy produced in the country. Deliveries of machines and equipment, chemical products and pharmaceuticals, and also consumer goods and foodstuffs from fraternal Hungary are also very important to the Soviet Union.

Cooperation between the socialist countries is constantly developing. New and important agreements on expanding work in the sphere of microelectronics, robot technology, in the agroindustrial complex, and in the production of consumer goods will soon be added to the already well-known Soviet-Hungarian agreements on cooperation in the aluminum industry and the production of olefins, and also on specialization and cooperation in a number of machine construction branches. At the decision of the governments of the two countries the Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation up to the year 2000 is being developed. Cultural relations are being successfully developed. Soviet Culture Days, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the great victory, will be held in Hungary in autumn 1985.

Hungary's liberation from fascism as a result of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 was the first prerequisite of the historic turning point in the fate of the Hungarian people. However, the Hungarian working people had to make radical political and socioeconomic changes under the leadership of the Communist Party. Leading the popular masses, Hungarian communists developed and successfully implemented a program of popular-democratic revolution, which later grew into socialist revolution. The socialist system triumphed in Hungary. In their struggle to build a new society the communists of Hungary received support from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and relied on the historical experience of the CPSU--the first to lay a path to socialism.

It is symbolic that the work of the 13th MSZMP Congress was in progress when the Hungarian people were celebrating the 40th anniversary of their country's liberation from fascism. "Four decades ago," it is stated in the Accountability Report of the MSZMP Central Committee, "the Soviet Union, which had taken upon itself the main burden of World War II, gained victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism together with the other states in the anti-Hitler coalition. We sacredly preserve the memory of the heroes who gave their lives in the struggle for the people's freedom, and of the Hungarian communists, democrats, and antifascist patriots who did not begrudge their lives and struggled against fascism both in their motherland and in other countries."<sup>15</sup>

The result achieved by the Hungarian People's Republic during the past 4 decades convincingly attest to the vital force of the ideas of

Marxism-Leninism, the superiority of the socialist social system, and the great creative potential and enthusiasm of people who have thrown off the fetters of capitalist exploitation. Loyalty to the principles and laws of socialist construction, consideration of the specific features of the country, firm ties between the party and the people belonging to the socialist community--all this lies at the basis of the successes in socialist construction in Hungary. "The most important points in the program of our work for the forthcoming period," said J. Kadar at the 13th MSZMP Congress, "are primarily strengthening the socialist features of Hungarian society, struggling against phenomena alien to our system, steadily continuing socialist creative work, and building a developed socialist society. The Hungarian people have all the means at their disposal to implement this program."<sup>16</sup>

The firm economic foundations laid during the years of people's power, the advantages of a socialist planned economy, and extensive economic cooperation within the CEMA framework make it possible for fraternal Hungary, whose national economy is objectively closely connected with the foreign market, to overcome the difficulties caused by market disruptions in the world economy.

A most important condition of the achieved success has been and remains the leading role of the MSZMP in society. Hungarian communists develop and perfect the forms and methods of party work and strengthen their ties with the masses. The party consistently works to shape socialist awareness and struggles against views alien to socialism.

The countries of the socialist community are progressing successfully. During the past 4 decades--since the defeat of fascism--our general ideas on building socialism have been enriched and broadened, and every fraternal party makes its contribution to the treasure house of the historical experience of world socialism. The experience of struggling for socialism attests to the fact that the real national interests of every socialist country can be safeguarded by adhering to the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and by strengthening the socialist community as a whole in every possible way.

A meeting was held in Moscow in March between the heads of the party-state delegations from the Warsaw Pact member-states. "Its participants," said J. Kadar, "expressed their common determination to also henceforward perfect comprehensive political interaction and economic, ideological, and other cooperation, as well as their intention to strive consistently and in a constructive spirit to lessen tension in the world, eliminate the threat of nuclear war, take effective measures in the area of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and prevent the militarization of outer space. They voiced their unanimous opinion to extend the term of effect of the Warsaw Pact."<sup>17</sup>

It is by these conclusions that Hungarian communists are also guided while perfecting and deepening relations with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries and actively participating in the common work of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact Organization, and in the joint struggle for peace and social progress.

Determination to do everything possible to ensure peaceful life on earth was emphasized in the speeches by delegates at the 13th MSZMP Congress and by the leaders of party delegations from socialist community countries, including the head of the CPSU delegation--Comrade G. V. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Our enemies utilize any opportunity and any means in the international ideological struggle in order to undermine the unity of the socialist countries. They strive to weaken the solidarity of the working masses of the world with real socialism and to shake their faith in the possibility of building a new society. They try to destroy the unity of fraternal socialist countries, and they also exaggerate differences in the national features of socialist construction as being fundamental.

Communist parties have always clearly understood that a clash of ideologies is inevitable in the struggle for social progress, but this struggle must remain in the sphere of ideas and be waged with the aid of arguments and facts and not prevent peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems or normal international relations.

As genuine internationalists, the Soviet people are glad of the achievements of the fraternal Hungarian people and wish their Hungarian friends new success on the path of implementing the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress.

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26 June 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## SOUTH AFRICA ACCUSED OF VIOLATING UN NAMIBIAN RESOLUTION

Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 23 May 85 p 3

[Commentary by Yuriy Ul'yanovskiy: "Pretoria's 'Namibian Card'"]

[Text] Despite the demands of the international community the rulers of the Republic of South Africa [RSA] are not only continuing their illegal occupation of Namibia but are even setting out on a so-called "interim settlement" of the Namibian problem. The racists stated their "complete right to take any steps aimed at appropriate administration of this territory". With the support of Washington, their partner in "constructive engagement", Pretoria is trying to disrupt the decolonialization process in Namibia and, creating there a so-called "provisional government" of corrupt politicians, to preserve their colonial dominance and to restore the shaky position of racism in southern Africa. Playing the "Namibian card", the RSA is counting on wrecking the existing UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia, bringing the solution of this question within the framework of the UN and keeping the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) from any participation in the settlement.

The occupiers of Namibian territory are introducing laws on passes, closing off whole regions and strengthening terror and repression. They intend to turn the Caprivi Strip in northern Namibia into a pseudo-independent Bantustan and to create there a powerful military base which will be used as a staging area for aggression against the neighboring countries of Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

In answer to these anti-legal actions of Pretoria, SWAPO is increasing its armed struggle for the liberation of its motherland, the land which the colonialists took away, for freedom and independence. The patriots are decisively continuing the struggle until that time when the last South African occupier leaves Namibian territory. The struggle of the Namibian people will be crowned with success because they are in the right. On their side is the support of all progressive forces in the world.

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INTERNATIONAL

OFFICIAL VIEWS UN COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 14, 14-21 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Anatoly Karasikov]

[Text] The latest, 6th session of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) was held in March 1985 at the HQ of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris.

After the USA abandoned UNESCO and ceased to be a member of the IPDC Intergovernmental Council, the body, which supervises the Programme's implementation, was left containing the following 34 members: Austria, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Bulgaria, Venezuela, Gabon, the GDR, Zaire, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Yemen Arab Republic, Canada, the People's Republic of China, Mexico, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Nigeria, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Cameroon, Peru, Senegal, the USSR, Uganda, the FRG, France, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia and Japan (in Russian alphabetical order - Ed.).

**INJUSTICE**

The existing dependence of the developing countries on their former metropolises in the field of information and communications inflicts damage not only upon these states but upon the entire world community as well. The initiators of setting up the IPDC noted that even though the population in the developing countries comprises the greater part of the global population, the total circulation of the newspapers published there was only a sixth of the total newspaper circulation in the industrialized states. By 1980 eleven developing countries had no dailies at all, with only one newspaper being published in another 19 countries, and 35 countries had no information

agencies of their own. Many of the young states found themselves dependent on foreign information sources because quite often they had no personnel of their own, nor equipment, nor the means to purchase it.

UNESCO launched the International Programme for the Development of Communication in 1980 and it developed into one of the more successful of UNESCO initiatives, as was noted by the UNESCO General Conference and Executive Board at their latest sessions. The UN General Assembly also spoke highly of the work done on the restructuring of international relations in the field of mass communications on a new, democratic basis.

**MEANS AND AIMS**

The IPDC is of tremendous importance, in spite of its relatively modest

financial means, because it gives the green light to the creation in the Third World of independent mass media, organizes cooperation and assistance in developing the infrastructures of communications, and bridges the gap in this field between the industrialized and developing countries. Thanks to the IPDC, UNESCO and its organs, including the Intergovernmental Council of the IPDC, can study and objectively analyze the real state of the mass media in the developing states; follow the attempts made by the former metropolises to interfere in the internal affairs of the liberated states in the mass media field; render assistance to the shaping of the information policy of the developing countries in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations; influence the distribution of international aid to the developing states in the mass media field, neutralizing the machinations of transnational corporations, and assist the establishment of the new international information order.

The IPDC meets halfway the just demands of the liberated countries to make the flow of information not only free, but also well balanced, so that the voice of the weak one would not be drowned in the powerful chorus of voices of those who would like to monopolize the shaping of public opinion. One of the main principles in the IPDC activities is the respect for the cultural identity of all nations, both large and small, and the unconditional joining in the UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to the Strengthening of Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War.

## HELP THE POOREST

The 6th session of the IPDC Intergovernmental Council considered more than 50 practical regional and national projects, which include such major projects as developing the associations of information agencies in Asia (OANA), Africa (PANA) and Latin America (ALASEI); training of women specialists on the mass media in Africa; planning and developing radio broadcasting in Latin America; the strengthening of the mass media technical base in a whole number of countries; the setting up of a centre for training mass media specialists in the PDY; the construction of a press

centre in Vietnam, and many other projects. The adopted projects are on the whole in accord with the IPDC aims and tasks. They were considered taking into account the criteria and priorities which were established by the Intergovernmental Council at its 2nd session in Acapulco (Mexico) in

January 1980 and which have not lost any of their relevance.

More than seven million dollars have been deposited in the special IPDC account which is the main source of financing the projects. Is this amount great or small? Of course it is not so much if we compare the figure with the developing countries' needs in the media field. It was noted at the session that many states which have previously voted for the appeal to support the IPDC, have themselves failed to respond to it.

Only a few industrialized capitalist states have rendered support to the IPDC through its special account. Among them Norway merits a special mention. Norway leads the list of donor-countries (apparently, the result of the energy, enthusiasm and passionate involvement in the Council's affairs of its Chairman - Norwegian Gunnar Garbo). The IPDC special account was also supported to a certain extent by Canada, Finland, France and Italy.

Some industrialized countries have rendered assistance to the IPDC in other forms, approved by UNESCO (offers of specialists and equipment, aid in training national personnel, and fund-in-trust deposits under the control of an international organization), including many socialist states.

The joining of the "donors" by a number of developing countries, the aid to whom was envisaged by the IPDC, has become a notable phenomenon in its activities. In spite of their complex economic situation, they have also decided to render material support to the IPDC so that the money on the special account would be put at the disposal of the most needy countries.

Several new additional donations to the IPDC fund were announced at the Paris session. The IPDC's resources, however modest they are, are growing, wherein lies the token of the IPDC's further successes.

## TWO POSITIONS

A US representative attended the 6th session. This time he sat not among the Council members but

among the public. The Washington emissary did not take part in official debates but compensated for this outward passivity by an energetic search for those who would agree to accept "aid" on the USA's conditions.

It is hard, in this context, not to recollect that at all the previous sessions of the Intergovernmental Council, the US delegation occupied a rather original position. When arguing about the distribution of the money on the special IPDC fund, to which the USA did not contribute a single dollar, it frankly displayed concern for only one quite definite category of receivers of the aid. The US delegates tried unsuccessfully many times to turn the IPDC into their own "data bank" on the needs of the developing countries in the field of the media so that large monopolies would be able to try to override more easily the mass media in the Third World.

As for the USSR, it unconditionally supports the IPDC aims and tasks, and was always against the rendering of aid within the IPDC context to be stipulated by any political conditions. The USSR has always taken this stand. It has always fulfilled all its commitments in full. As was stressed at the session, it will be fulfilling them as scrupulously also after its own financial fee to the UNESCO budget became the biggest among its members.

Taking into account the importance of the IPDC, the Soviet government decided to double its new fee to the IPDC fund made in October 1984 from 300,000 to 600,000 roubles. If the money donated previously is taken into account the total monetary contribution of the USSR to the IPDC fund reaches 1.1 million roubles, including 550,000 roubles in hard currency. The question on how to realize the new monetary contribution by the USSR will be decided in cooperation with the IPDC directorate with account taken of the analysis of the concrete projects approved by the Intergovernmental Council.

On top of this, the USSR has offered the IPDC 30 scholarships for advanced students who have a higher specialized education and would like to improve their professional skills. These scholarships are for periods from one month to two years, in addition to the 50 scholarships which the USSR has provided the IPDC every year, since 1982, for students from the developing countries to acquire a higher education in Soviet higher schools. We have not summed

up the total which our country will pay for the training and advanced training of specialists on IPDC scholarships. But it will be, of course, quite a sizeable sum.

The Paris session was the last before the holding of the UNESCO General Conference in Sofia. There is good reason to believe that the IPDC will arrive at the Conference with good results.

CSO: 1812/247

26 June 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## BOOK VIEWS RISE OF CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN WEST

Moscow EKONOMIKA I MATEMATICHESKIYE METODY in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 85  
pp 367-371

[Review by A. A. Ryvkin of book "Konservatizm protiv Reformizma: Dve Tendentsii v Burzhuaznoy Politekonomii" [Conservatism versus Reformism: Two Trends in Bourgeois Political Economics] by I. M. Osadchaya, Mysl', Moscow, 1984, 223 pages]

[Text] This book by I. M. Osadchaya, one of our country's leading specialists in the criticism of bourgeois economic theories, is concerned with one of the most interesting problems--the conflict between the two major schools of bourgeois political economics, with the neoclassicists on the one hand, and the Keynesians and their followers on the other hand. Laconic presentation, simplicity, and clearly defined formulas and interpretations made it possible for the author to present a huge volume of information and material in a relatively short monograph.

The introduction gives a brief description of the reasons behind the "triumph" of ideas regarding state regulation of the capitalist economy in the 1950s and 1960s, the profound crisis which occurred in the 1970s, and the declaration announcing rejection of these ideas in the early 1980s.

The first chapter describes the development of the Keynesian theory, which occurred against a backdrop of criticism of traditional concepts of bourgeois political economics, and the evolution of so-called orthodox Keynesianism.

The second chapter details the reaction of supporters of traditional Western political economics to the appearance of Keynesian ideas, which the most conservative bourgeois politicians and ideologists described as almost revolutionary. In response to Keynesian theoretical constructions, the neoclassical school promoted a number of new scientific directions, which stressed the constructiveness of the proposed research system (neoclassical analysis of macroeconomic problems) and the given instruments, which can be used to affect actual economic life (the monetary theory of economic instability).

The third chapter discusses the appearance and development of post-Keynesianism. The crisis of orthodox Keynesian ideas that occurred in the 1970s, and led in the final analysis to a manifest bankruptcy of these ideas,

not only caused an offensive against the entire front of those supporting state policies that do not exceed limits acceptable from a neoclassical standpoint, but also a reorganization of the Keynesian position itself, a regrouping of forces, and the emergence of a broad spectrum of new trends.

This chapter is especially important because it demonstrates the practical significance of studies dealing with criticism of bourgeois theories for Soviet theoretical economists. In the polemics developing in the West we can sometimes find arguments that differ greatly in the analysis of proposed methods for managing a socialist economy. If it is very difficult to find models worthy of imitation in the world of capitalist relations, then at the very least one can and must understand what should not be done, and what serious consequences can result from efforts to implement a number of ideas involving the creation of some variation of an economic mechanism that orients participants strictly toward the simplest incentives for an "economized personality." In this respect, the third chapter is quite instructive.

The practical aspect of applying constructions of bourgeois political economics in the policies of the U.S. state administration is discussed in Chapter IV. The author describes the conflict between liberal-bourgeois and conservative ideas, and the theory and practice of current conservatism, which has been embodied in the policies of the Reagan administration.

I. M. Osadchaya titled the conclusion "Reformism versus Conservatism," using this reversal of the title of the book to stress the lack of optimism tied to the possibilities offered by the conservative school of thought. The conservatives have had their say. The reformists retreated and reorganized their ranks. From a logical standpoint, they should have the next word. But the question is: Will there be any significant differences between the two positions? I. M. Osadchaya's book offers the following answer: "...diehard conservatism has no future. Contemporary state-monopolistic capitalism cannot maintain its own existence, not to mention develop, without state interference in the economy, without social reforms, without concessions to the workers, and consequently, without curbing the arms race. Reformist programs for 'improvement' or substantial expansion of state interference in the economy provide a better reflection of the real contradictions and real demands for further development of state-monopolistic capitalism, even though they are not capable of overcoming the chronic ailments of contemporary capitalism, which are rooted in the very nature of this method of production.

"It is important to stress another factor. Reformism under current conditions (especially social-democratic reformism) is being combined with statements in favor of peace, the coexistence of the two systems, arms control, that is, with issues that are of vital importance to all mankind." (p 218)

We offer this lengthy citation because it expresses the purpose of the book, and its social and political stand, in the most concise terms. We will now move from our description of the content of the monograph to a short discussion of some of the problems raised in the book.

The pages devoted to the transformation of J. M. Keynes' ideas in the work and theories of his followers are some of the most interesting in the book. A close reading of these pages provides good food for methodological thought. I. M. Osadchaya notes that sometimes the term "Keynesianism" makes such a strong impression on our consciousness that we tend to identify Keynesianism with the ideas of Keynes himself. In addition, there are always some supporters of Keynes who are trying to revive "true" Keynesianism, and to liberate it from later developments. Reading the monograph, one immediately becomes aware of the error of both positions. The development of Keynesianism was a complex and involved historical process, and of course, the problem is not that Keynes' ideas were distorted by his theoretical supporters and by those who utilized his ideas in practice. The only thing worthy of note is that Keynes was clearly superior to many of his followers in terms of his understanding of the methodological foundations of economic theory.

Unfortunately, formal pragmatism with respect to economic theories became the foundation for many critical studies, in which the role and importance of a theoretical concept as a whole not only declined, but were often denied altogether (perhaps after B. Seligman's work, which was not terribly deep, became known).

The work of J. M. Keynes himself is characterized by a wealth of realized methodological precepts and an understanding of the conditional nature of many theoretical constructions. Keynes' followers and many of those who have studied the body of his work are guilty of an oversimplified reading of his work and of taking ideas out of context. The figure of Keynes himself, which combined the breadth of abstract theoretical analysis with the ability to find tough and uncompromising solutions (if one is referring to their ties to traditional bourgeois economic theories), in a way encourages a pragmatic interpretation of his work. For a contemporary researcher, for whom the practice of Keynesian regulation of the economy is an absolute reality, it is difficult to believe that Keynes the theoretician did not create formulas meant for direct practical application, but that Keynes the practical economist, far from literally, and only in general terms, adhered to his own theoretical conclusions.

Keynes apparently recognized the specific nature of theoretical analysis and the impossibility of applying its results directly in economic practice. One might assume that for him a theory or model was a way to structuralize consciousness, which was necessary not as a set of truths or models to be imitated, but as the quintessence of a certain style that gives rise to an entire direction for creative practical application. In addition, none of this prevented Keynes from developing recommendations that were sometimes much more specific than those that would be developed by a person who recognized the relativity and conditional nature of theoretical constructions.

Of course, Keynes was not a revolutionary. He openly worked for the good of that socio-economic formation of which he was a product. Even his claims of reformism were quite limited: "In several other respects the theory presented above is moderately conservative in terms of its conclusions." And further: "...the result of filling in the gaps of classical theory should not be elimination of the 'Manchester system,' but elucidation of the conditions

needed so that free play of economic forces can lead to realization of all the potential possibilities of production."<sup>5</sup> There is nothing unexpected in the fact that along with brilliant criticism of the positions of neoclassical political economics, Keynes' work contains abundant material for rehabilitation of that theory, but with restrictions outlined in the Keynesian doctrine. Furthermore, in the late 1930s the first studies appeared that built a bridge between Keynes and the classicists. They were a step toward the formation of orthodox Keynesianism, in which Keynes' theory was no longer general, but was meant to describe economic conditions that develop during periods of depression, recession, and crisis (pp 38-39 of the monograph). Keynes' "revolutionary" theory was incorporated into the general design of bourgeois political economics quickly and relatively painlessly. Its ideas are embodied in the instruments of state-monopolistic regulation of the economy, and Keynesianism is beginning to take on a life and existence of its own, independent of the original theory.

During periods of the greatest official recognition, Keynesianism becomes the focus of ideas acceptable to the state-monopolistic bosses of society, and its alliance with classical bourgeois political economics is growing stronger and stronger. Ideologists representing neoclassical synthesis, who formed the core of orthodox Keynesianism, have been appointed repeatedly to key economic posts in the U.S. administration. Keynesian ideas have also served the Labor governments of Great Britain when there was a need to utilize an instrument of nationalization, to invest considerable funds for modernization of old sectors of industry, in order to concentrate efforts on resolving fundamental structural problems, and then, when the groundwork was laid for traditional growth in a specific sector, to return once again to the private enterprise system (under the Conservatives). Thus the methods and goals of Keynesian "socialization" naturally became a practical element of contemporary capitalist society. If one examines this society as a whole, one sees that it is not trying to eliminate these methods and goals, since without them it loses something that plays a critical role in the society's existence.

Many people are inclined to interpret the current stage of the U.S. economy as a triumph of conservative, neoclassical ideas and as the political failure of the Keynesians. But is everything really so simple in the economic policies of the Reagan administration? After all, both the Keynesians and supporters of neoclassical theory have criticized the steps he has taken. The President's economic (and general) ignorance has shocked many observers. But he has demonstrated to Americans that his economic policies are, at least, related to (if not the reason for) relative economic prosperity for certain segments of society, and thus ensured himself a mandate for another term in office. What are the reasons for this phenomenon and can they be determined within the limits of neoclassical or Keynesian economic concepts?

I. M. Osadchaya focuses all of Chapter IV on this question, and if it is not formulated clearly here, it is probably because the book was written when the Reagan administration had been in power for only about two years, and this was too short a period for making generalizations. We will try to answer this question by utilizing the material provided in the monograph.



In the 1970s the practice of Keynesian regulation of the economy experienced a crisis. We will discuss two important factors that are not always taken into account.

In the first place, Keynes described a number of reactions of contemporary capitalist economy to impulses which with some approximation can be considered external with respect to the entire system under examination. These reactions, however, are essentially instantaneous and short-term. A more long-term prospect in the best case can be seen in a reflection such as the fading process of the impulse's "pulsating" movement through the system. Keynesians do not consider the long-term consequences of utilizing this method of regulating the economy, and they cannot use the methods available in their system of ideas to study and understand these consequences.

In the second place, Keynes gave a description of instantaneous reactions for a system that does not suspect that it is being regulated by influences of this nature. With the passage of time, Keynesian regulators became an integral part of the system, and the system (one should not forget that it has the ability to analyze and realize) was no longer the same system for which Keynes formulated his theory. What happened within the system and how the system now reacts to similar impulses is a problem that should be studied separately. At this point, what is important is that we have before us a substantially different system.

Thus, the Keynesian instrument was used more extensively, and not only during periods of deep recessions and crises, and the object of regulation continued to accumulate long-term consequences and at the same time was modified substantially, specifically, in order to step up the passage of some impulses and to depress others. We will not describe the specific economic processes that contributed to this. We will just point out that it would be more surprising if in a similar situation traditional Keynesian policies were effective.

The regulation of the economy that actually developed had features of both Keynesian and monetaristic concepts, but there was always something in the actual regulation that these concepts did not cover.

One of the most interesting themes in I. M. Osadchaya's book is the role of economics and mathematical research against the backdrop of general criticism of neoclassical and orthodox Keynesian constructions. If one considers the diverse post-Keynesian concepts along with these two representative trends in bourgeois economic thought, a fairly wide spectrum of relations arises for measurements in economics in general, and for economic and mathematical models, in particular. From a methodological standpoint, there are definite differences even between the positions of orthodox Keynesians and neoclassicists with respect to their understanding of the place and role of economic indexes.

Within the framework of neoclassical thinking, the concept of rational expectations developed, which made it possible to separate ideas about the expected dynamics of indicators that measure economic processes from their actual movement. And even though the issue was the difference between the indexes, and not the difference between the picture drawn by the index and the

actual development of processes, the researchers still had a convenient tool that was used to construct the corresponding economic and mathematical models and for further development of theoretical constructions on this basis. The priority of neoclassicists in inventing rational expectations did not prevent the Keynesians from using analogous concepts in their constructions. In addition, one of the important aspects of the debate between these two trends involves methodological measurement and mathematical modelling of the economy. Keynesians are constantly trying to stress the conditional nature and even the ephemeral character of value indicators. Keynesians are especially critical of the theory of marginal productivity, and the related concepts of balance, identification of prices with marginal values, and marginalist distribution of income. Efforts to analyze the development of a national economy using value units, as Keynes noted, lead to conundrums that have no solution. The first and most obvious dead-end situation arises in the formation of value concepts for fixed capital, which would simultaneously fulfill the role of a physically functioning factor of production and would remain commensurate with the results of economic activity, subject to wear and replacement, absorbing depreciation investments, and so on.

Just as value characteristics run through economics, labor runs through the economy. Keynes focused attention on this, but made no distinctions in this context between economics and the economy, and suggested that a labor unit be introduced which in the final analysis would provide a value indicator for labor (a wage unit), and would participate in macroeconomic relations, which are in essence marginalist as well. Nonetheless, one cannot ignore Keynes' understanding of the narrow nature of value indicators, or the fact that Keynes sowed some seeds of serious doubt among economists about whether many of the processes observed in the dynamics of the indicators were physically realistic.

At the same time, the monetarists (neoclassicists) offered their own systems for economic measurement and modelling and focused their attention on another aspect of the phenomena: money, not being a fully tangible economic reality, is a powerful means of stepping up economic activity. The role of money is even more significant in some ways than the role of actual economic structures, since the latter encourage existing forms of activity to continue, while the former stimulates change.

Thus, we run up against the opposing positions of Keynesians and monetarists. The Keynesians say that value indicators are not realistic enough, while the monetarists demonstrate the realistic nature and activity of money in and of itself; and neither consider manifestations of economic life that are outside measurement or comparison worthy of the attention of a theoretical economist. Therefore, for both orthodox Keynesians and monetarists the determination of quantitative relations and mathematization based on these relations are the natural and most appropriate means of scientific economic analysis. Is there something in socio-economic relations that simply cannot be quantified? Representatives of the opposing schools of thought readily answer this question in the affirmative. But far from all will agree that this "something" is a subject of direct theoretical interest, since economics, if one does not delve too deeply into the oddities of institutionalism, is a matter of measurement and comparative measurement. Without this, there would be no macroeconomics. Since no one wants to part with this favorite child, and Keynesians cannot

manage to find a place for it in constructions of a more general nature, they prefer not to take discussions of the conditional nature of value indicators to their logical conclusion, and they remain at the very beginning of the road.

Both the neoclassicists and the orthodox Keynesians focus their attention on analyzing formal economic relations. They argue about which relations are more appropriate for a given purpose, and from this standpoint, the positions of Keynes himself, who persistently demanded a stricter approach to macro-values, is preferable. But those involved in the debate are completely unprepared for a meaningful analysis of economic structures. No matter how hard Keynes tried to focus attention on the role of cause and effect relationships, he was still limited by certain postulates (of a behavioral nature, primarily) regarding these relations. He remained indecisive when there was a need to recognize the special role of technological chains and contours as the material base of the entire economy, and to see that their inherent causality is different from that which is in force when values are involved. This latter type of causality arises as a result of an element of fragmented interactions that is stimulated by the possibility of freer rearrangement of symbols of resources than of the resources themselves, since the symbols are without a substantial part of the internal structures that are inherent in the resources.

The accusation that a specific trend in bourgeois political economics is guilty of an apologetic approach hardly comes as a surprise. It simply can be no other way. Thus, the orientation toward formal indexes as the goal of economic analysis and the deadened interest in the structures of ownership, distribution, and utilization are natural. Rejection of this would lead to exposure of the exploitative essence of modern imperialism.

In analyzing the possible consequences of decisions made by the United States in the area of domestic economic policies, one should remember that this country is deeply involved in international division of labor that is capitalist in its essence. One should not be led astray by arguments that the U.S. economy is predominantly a closed economy, and therefore, exports and imports are not as important to the United States as they are to other smaller countries. The primary issue here is the economic structures that are part of the entire capitalist world and that are strongly influenced by the United States. These include transnational corporations, the international banking system, the International Monetary Fund, the system of trade barriers, conditions for providing other countries with technology, and even the style and direction of education, and scientific and technical developments. Thus, it is not difficult to see that the argument between the neoclassicists and the orthodox Keynesians is dying down to a significant extent, as both groups formulate their position regarding the essence of international relations. It is only the forms of enriching oneself at the expense of one's partners that are being discussed, and there is no doubt about the need for enrichment. The essence of R. Reagan's policies will remain unclear if the resolution of domestic problems is separated artificially from international problems.

When R. Reagan announced an unprecedented increase in the banks' interest rates in the United States, many people, especially those inclined to take an almost mercantilist approach to nominal currency, thought that his decision was crazy. It is possible that this step would actually have been taken if the United

States were isolated from the outside world. But under actual conditions of imperialist relations, this step was completely justified from the standpoint of U.S. interests, since it encouraged the foreign investor not only to decline from investing in his own country's economy (especially if the investor views the government in power as too far to the left!), but also to invest the high interest received in the American bank in the American economy. As a result, the weakest companies and the poor people in the United States suffer. In other capitalist countries the problems resulting from these U.S. policies affect a wider segment of society.

One should not forget that regardless of how much R. Reagan's economic advisors and Reagan himself criticize Keynesian regulation of the economy, they are not contemplating liquidation of the institutions created for this purpose. As soon as Keynesian methods start to be useful and hope appears that they will work once again, they are utilized by the administration that is in power at the given time.

Returning to the discussion of the argument between the neoclassicists and the Keynesians in I. M. Osadchaya's book, there is one more point worthy of note. The appearance of post-Keynesianism is to a significant extent a reaction on the part of those who do not want to reconcile themselves to the extreme obscurantism which is taking the form of official ideology, and who have chosen under these circumstances a course of criticism and dissent. Therefore, it seems natural that, as I. M. Osadchaya points out, the spectrum of views and positions that can now be found among post-Keynesians would be broadening. Their left wing is drawing closer and closer to the ideas of K. Marx, and they are more critical of neoclassicists and orthodox Keynesians. It is still too early, however, to talk about post-Keynesianism as a developed theoretical trend with a single position and clear goals. Today it is more like a protest movement that is united by a common enemy and has chosen a group of symbols that are acceptable to all.

I. M. Osadchaya's book helps answer questions of practical import and identify new aspects of the phenomenon being analyzed. The book has another attractive feature: the reader is invited into a kitchen, where economic theories are being prepared and where he can watch a demonstration of various methods of preparation, as well as the consequences that result from using these "dishes." A wealth of current material is used to explain how and why economic theories are formed in bourgeois society. The appearance of I. M. Osadchaya's book is a welcome event.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. B. Seligmen, "Osnovnyye Tcheniya Sovremennoy Ekonomicheskoy Mysli" [Basic Trends in Contemporary Economic Thought], Moscow, Progress, 1968.
2. J. M. Keynes, "Obshchaya Teoriya Zanyatnosti, Protsenta i Deneg" [The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money], Moscow, Progress, 1978, p 452.
3. Ibid., p 454.

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

KAZAKHSTAN: RED CRESCENT DELEGATION--A delegation from the Red Crescent Society of Ghana, including its president, M.G. Hagana, and deputy general secretary of the society, A.S. Bibikoranga, visited Alma-Ata. They were received at the republic Ministry of Health and met with activists from the Kazakh Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with foreign countries. They visited the Central Municipal Clinical Hospital, learned about the work of the district Red Cross committee and saw the city monuments. [Text] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 85 p 3]

DUSHANBE: VISITORS FROM SANAA--A delegation from the adopted-brother city of Sanaa--the capital of the Yemen Arab Republic, was in the capital of Tajikistan for several days at the invitation of the Dushanbe gorispolkom. Husayn al Qawwasi, general secretary of the Sanaa municipal council, headed the delegation. The members of the delegation visited cultural and educational institutions of the capital, and industrial enterprises and learned about the city economy. The leader of the delegation Husayn al Qawwasi gave a high evaluation to the achievements of the Tajik people in the development of economic, culture, science, health care and popular education. [Excerpt] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 24 Apr 85 p 3]

AFGHAN WORKERS, UZBEKISTAN PEASANTS--A group of workers, peasants and artisans from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan completed their acquaintance with the life of Uzbekistan. They visited industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses and educational institutions. The envoys from the DRA learned about the work of the soviets of people's deputies, the general education system and free medical services. [Text] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Apr 85 p 1]

DUTCH POLITICIANS SEE BAGIROV--(AzerINFORM)--On 19 April, G.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, received M. van den Berg, chairman of the Labor Party of the Netherlands. R.E. Mekhtiyev, a secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and W. van Velzen, general secretary of the Labor Party of the Netherlands, participated in the conversation. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Apr 85 p 1]

SWEDISH DELEGATION IN ALMA-ATA--(KAZTAG)--A delegation of the Sweden-Soviet Union Society and of "representatives of Swedish cities," headed by Gunnar Rask, responsible secretary of the society, has visited Alma-Ata to sign a working protocol for upcoming "Days of the Soviet Union" in Sweden, represented by Kazakhstan, which are planned for autumn of this year. The delegation "was received in the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and had a conversation with Z. Zh. Kadyrova, republic Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary... they acquainted themselves with the activity of the Kazakh Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and visited the republic Ministry of Culture." [Summary] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 85 p 3]

NORTH KOREAN JOURNALISTS VISIT AZSSR--A delegation of young journalists from the Korean People's Democratic Republic, guests in our country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, spent 3 days in Baku. The delegation was led by deputy editor of the newspaper NODONG CHONGNYON (WORKING YOUTH) Pae Myong Kyu. The guests held talks in the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Komsomol and the republic's Committee of Youth Organizations and with the editors of the newspapers AZERBAYDZHAN GYANDZHLYARI and MOLODEZH' AZERBAYDZHANA. [Excerpt] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 May 85 p 3]

SYRIAN IRRIGATION WORKERS IN AZSSR--A delegation of land reclamation and irrigation workers from the Syrian Arab Republic, in our country at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, arrived in Azerbaijan after a trip to Uzbekistan. On 20 May the head of the delegation--SAR Minister of Irrigation 'Abd al-Rahman Madani--was received by Chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers G.N. Seidov. Warmly greeting the guest, Comrade Seidov told him about the successes of Soviet Azerbaijan in the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR in building developed socialism and about the growing preparation in the republic's labor collectives for the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. Speaking about the development of agriculture in Azerbaijan, he emphasized that land reclamation and construction of large water management facilities had become a reliable basis for achieving stable high harvests in the republic. Deputy Chairmen of the AzSSR Council of Ministers D.M. Asanov and M.S. Mamedov were present at the reception. Members of the Syrian delegation had discussions in the Main Administration of Land Reclamation and Water Management. The delegation members learned about land reclamation structures and existing irrigation systems in Shemakhinskiy, Shekinskiy and Akhsunskiy rayons. They left for Moscow 22 May. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 May 85 p 2]

SWEDISH FRIENDSHIP GROUP IN KAZAKHSTAN--(KAZTAG)--A group of leaders and activists of the Union of Sweden-Soviet Union Societies is in Alma-Ata for a joint seminar with the Kazakh Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries on the 40th anniversary of the Soviet victory in World War II. Birgit Johansson, a member of the board of directors of the Stockholm branch, is among those attending. [Summary] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 May 85 p 3]

TASS-GUINEA-BISSAU INFORMATION AGREEMENT--Bissau, 3 Jun (TASS)--An agreement between TASS and the secretariat of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde [PAIGC] Central Committee on cooperation in the information sphere has been signed here. Speaking at the ceremony Maro Cabral, member of the PAIGC Central Committee, secretary of the PAIGC Central Committee commission on information and propaganda and minister for trade and tourism of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, stressed that the agreement will enable the information department of the PAIGC Central Committee to implement its program in practice. M. Cabral said that providing the popular masses with truthful information is particularly important now that the world economic crisis has worsened and the monopolies of the capitalist states are striving to shackle developing countries, in particular African countries, whose peoples are experiencing great economic difficulties and are suffering from hunger and poverty. Lev Krylov, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, was present at the signing of the agreement. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 3 May 85]

CSO: 1807/339

NATIONAL

INTERVIEW WITH MILITIA GENERAL ON ANTI-ALCOHOL LAWS

LD282002 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1440 GMT 27 May 85

[From the "Man and the Law" program]

[Text] In a few days time--on 1 June--the decree on intensification of the struggle against drunkenness, which has been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will come into force. The internal affairs organs are called upon to play a large role in the strict fulfillment of the requirements of that document and the implementation of all measures which have been drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism. Militia Major General (Anatoliy Petrovich Zhorich), head of the main directorate for the preservation of public order of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, tells of this in an interview with our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [(Zhorich)] The interest with which all Soviet people are now discussing the decision adopted recently by the party and the government on measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism is natural and understandable. Drunkenness is an evil which leaves no one indifferent. It maims children, destroys families, and inflicts irreparable material and moral damage on society as a whole. The CPSU Central Committee has indicated the path which must be followed: the decisive overcoming of harmful habits and inclinations and rejection of the use of spirits. The final goal has also been determined in a way which is fundamentally new: to eradicate alcohol from the life of a socialist society. The party is demanding that everywhere and in all respects drunkenness should be opposed with uncompromising struggle against any of its manifestations. This is also the unanimous demand of millions of Soviet people.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Petrovich, the internal affairs organs are now also faced with large tasks.

[(Zhorich)] Indeed. The rights and the authority of the militia have been significantly extended. But particular responsibility has been placed upon it also. The militia is called upon to ensure strict and absolute observance of the legislation in the struggle against drunkenness and home-distilling. The law on the one hand and public intolerance and civil awareness on the other--these are the two indispensable conditions for a successful



solution of the tasks which have been set. The halting of examples of drunkenness and violations of the law because of it on the streets and in other public places has occupied and will occupy an important position in the militia's activity. The militia's work in this respect contributes to the education of people and the creation of an atmosphere of public condemnation of the violators of the anti-alcohol legislation. I would like to speak about the following in this connection: We all are, at home in the family circle, fathers or mothers, brothers or sisters, husbands or wives. At work we are, depending on our profession, engineers or construction workers, bus, trolley or taxi drivers, shop clerks, and so on. No one wants to go out onto the street and be run over by a car. Why does the ordinary citizen allow himself to sit behind the wheel in a state of inebriation? No woman wishes to have a drunken husband or alcoholic children, nor does any woman believe it normal for her husband to drink at work. However, very often the same women--clerks in wine shops--serve spirits to persons in working clothing or to those who are already in an advanced state of inebriation; they sell them to adolescents. And what about the tender-hearted old women from whom you can get vodka at any time of the day or night? Or take this example: Several days ago, a woman clerk in a kvass booth in Moscow gave a drinker a bottle of vodka in exchange for a length of woolen material which he had stolen from home. What was she thinking of when she handed him the bottle? Incidentally, that slovenly alcoholic has two under-age children.

We should ask ourselves: How is it that a drunk can appear on the streets? Someone must have sold him spirits, perhaps repeatedly. Someone had been drinking with him, and many, very many people, including perhaps the militia, must have seen this, but no one stopped it while it might have been stopped. Now, if he is not taken to the sobering-up station he may fall victim to criminals or an accident, and may himself break the law.

[Correspondent] On this point the question often asked is, Anatoliy Petrovich: Where has the militia been looking?

[(Zhorich)] Yes, there are shortcomings in the militia's activity, but is this the whole question? Recently, the Collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR examined the work of internal affairs organs in combating drunkenness and alcoholism. Existing shortcomings were pointed out in an objective and principled way. The main directions of work, the necessary measures, forms and methods of implementing them, were defined. All this will greatly improve the efficiency of the militia's activity and its vigor in combating violations of anti-alcohol legislation. Patrols and district inspectors and other officials of the internal affairs organs will rigorously carry out the duties with which they have been entrusted, acting resolutely and uncompromisingly.

But this is not enough. Nor is it enough just to stop some example of drunkenness or felony connected with it. One must not wait till the need arises to stop something. Pandering to such excesses must stop. Therefore, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs and organs subordinate to it not only to

implement effective measures to thwart drunkenness in public places, violations of the regulations on trade in spirits, eradication of samogon brewing and speculation in spirits, but also to ensure thereby active coordination of action with the people's voluntary squads, comrades' courts, councils for prevention of offenses, public law-and-order maintenance offices, and other voluntary organizations. District inspectors and militiamen on-the-beat, with the help of squad members and of citizens conscious of their duty and responsibility, can put an end to examples of drunkenness on the streets and in other public places. The struggle against drunkenness, as in no other question, requires continual contact, coordination, and mutual understanding of the militia and public: On this will depend the success of preventive measures and prevention of drunkenness.

[Correspondent] Obviously, Anatoliy Petrovich, it is especially important to protect teenagers and youth from the ruinous influence of alcohol?

[(Zhorich)] Yes, it is no exaggeration to say that behind every minor with a tendency to use liquor there stands an adult who nudged him into it, and there stand also those who saw it and did not prevent it. Doubtless well-wishers will be found who will start getting indignant and sympathize when a salesman refuses to sell vodka to a young person of under 21, but it is not a question of a formal age of 20 or 21, but of the health of the future generations. I would like to stress: The militia organs will endeavor to locate and identify such persons, ensuring unconditional application of the legally envisaged measures, bringing them to administrative or criminal responsibility.

In an oblast center not so long ago, using a hidden camera, a film was made which was called "In the Lunch Break." It was made during the lunch break at enterprises when many, thirsty for a slug of liquor, would hurry on foot, by dump truck, bulldozer, motor crane, to the store and calmly buy vodka before the militia arrived. Shops were already banned from selling spirits to persons in working clothes during working hours, but evidently someone thought, and still does: "What's in a law? Its observance is not in the least compulsory!" Yes, there has at times been liberalism, including on the part of the militia, and it has caused such thoughts. There will be no liberalism any more. There will be strict and rigorous observance of the law.

A major task facing the militia is the eradication and prevention of speculation in liquor. It is not ruled out that individual citizens will try to make use of the situation for selfish aims. Such attempts must be thwarted right from the start.

[Correspondent] But you sometimes hear arguments like: Well, I've only got half a liter of samogon. Where's the harm? After all, it's only for myself.

[(Zhorich)] Yes, that is so. An alcoholic buys spirits at a shop for himself, too. But a speculator selling vodka outside the established hours may almost seem like a benefactor. In reality, however, both the speculator and the samogon brewer are committing illegal acts and promoting the spread of drunkenness, thereby ignoring the interests of society, the interests of the

country. The party considers that in modern conditions the overcoming of harmful habits and remnants, primarily drunkenness, is gaining special importance. In the struggle against this socially dangerous evil, there can be no trifling. Because of this, the public order maintenance service of the organs of internal affairs will structure its work so that the law will be a rule with no exceptions. [end recording]

CSO: 1800/323

NATIONAL

M. V. ZIMYANIN COLLECTION OF SPEECHES, ARTICLES REVIEWED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 24 Jan 85) pp 13-21

[Unattributed review of the anthology "Pod zhamenem Leninizma", a selection of speeches and articles by M. V. Zimyanin: "Under the Banner of Leninism"]

[Text] The Publishing House for Political Literature put out a mass edition of the book "Pod znamenem Leninizma" [Under the Banner of Leninism]--a collection of selected articles and speeches of the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, The Publishing House for Political Literature put out a mass edition of the book "Pod znamenem Leninizma" [Under the Banner of Leninism]--a collection of selected articles and speeches of the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. V. Zimyanin, encompassing an almost 40-year period of the socio-political activity of the author. The materials of the collection reflect diverse processes of the internal and international life of our country and the historic accomplishments of the Soviet people attained under the leadership of the CPSU.

Among the publications which went into the book, special mention should be made of the following: "Leninism--the Revolutionary Banner of Our Epoch" (address given at the ceremonial session in Moscow, dedicated to the 107 anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin on 22 April 1977), "Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Epoch" (introductory speech at the International Scientific Conference in Moscow, 15 April 1980), "On the Immediate Tasks of Ideological Political Education Work" (from a lecture at the All-Union Seminar-Conference of Ideological Workers, 20 April 1981), "The Doctrine of Marx Lives and Conquers" (speech at the International Scientific Conference "Karl Marx and the Present Time--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress", Berlin, 11 April 1983), "The Party of Revolutionary Action" (address at the ceremonial session in Moscow, dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP [Russian Social Democratic Labor Party] in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, 29 July 1983), and "Following Leninist Principles of the Development of Education" (article published in the journal KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1984).

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, comrade M. V. Zimyanin was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Belorussia and a direct participant and one of the leaders of the partisan movement in the rear of the enemy. His address "The Nation-Wide Partisan Struggle in the Belorussian SSR Against the German Fascist Invaders During the Years of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union" featured in the collection, which was given in 1949 at the session of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, is acquiring special topicality in connection with the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the Great Victory.

To follow always and in everything the teaching of the brilliant leader of the world proletariat, the inspirer and organizer of the Great October Socialist

Revolution, the founder of the CPSU and the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, and to live and work in the Leninist way--this thought runs through all of the speeches of comrade M. V. Zimyanin. According to a note in the publisher's foreword, it also determined its title.

According to Lenin, it is stated in the collection, we regulate the path of our movement forward and we find in him the key to the correct understanding and solution of the cardinal problems of our time. In Lenin's writings, the communists of the entire world study the art of thoroughly analyzing the processes of social development, of seeing them in the immediate and the remote future, of correctly orienting the working class and all workers in their struggle for the construction of a new society and for the realization of communist ideals.

The ideas of Lenin, his entire life and activity became a great model for every member of our party, every Soviet person, a vitally important and moral model, against which we check every one of our steps. Lenin lives in our hearts and minds, undertakings, plans and prognoses for the future.

The entire course of present-day social development confirms the great force of the Leninist doctrine and its non-transient significance for the international working class and the communist and workers' movement, for the national liberation struggle of the peoples. Leninism was, is and will be the revolutionary banner of our epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to communism. This comes to light thoroughly in the book.

The author emphasizes that Lenin opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism, having enriched all of its component parts--philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. He went down into history as the greatest thinker, who was able to reveal the basic regularities and trends of development in the new epoch, to generalize the world experience of the revolutionary liberation struggle and to find paths for the victorious solution of the tasks of socialist revolution.

The propositions of Lenin concerning the political organization of socialist society, his theory of the socialist planned system of the economy, the program of the construction of the foundations of socialism through the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, and the solution of the national problem brightly illuminated the creative activity of the party and the Soviet people for many years in advance. Lenin advanced and substantiated the principles of socialist foreign policy, which even today determine the general policy of the Soviet Union in the international arena.

The CPSU and the Soviet people, it is emphasized in the book, maintain steadfast loyalty to Leninism. And the farther we move along the road to communism, the more evident become the invincible force and effectiveness of Leninism, the depth of Lenin's penetration into the essence of the objective regularities and trends of world historical development and the unsurpassed power of Lenin's foreknowledge.

Being guided by the Leninist methodology and generalizing the new processes and phenomena of public life, our party creatively develops and enriches the ideological legacy of Lenin. An important contribution to the storehouse of

Marxism-Leninism is the teaching concerning developed socialism developed by the CPSU together with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The conception of developed socialism, comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out in his welcome to the participants of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "The Improvement of Developed Socialism and the Ideological Work of the Party in the Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee", provides a strictly scientific idea of our most immediate and future goals and the paths of their attainment and lies at the basis of the new Program of the CPSU being prepared. To develop a deep understanding of the political meaning of the thoroughly balanced and realistic strategy of the improvement of developed socialism developed by the party and to be able to link it closely with practical propaganda and educational work is the first duty of the ideological cadres and the entire party aktiv.

At the center of attention of the author of the collection is the guiding and directing role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction. And correspondingly--key questions of the theoretical activity of the party, its economic, social and cultural policy, foreign policy course, ideological, and ideological-educational work. Basing himself on the richest and vitally important material and offering a profound interpretation of the facts and processes of reality, the author comprehensively analyzes the forms and methods of the daily party influence on production, the social and spiritual life of the Soviet people, on the development of the initiative and creativeness of the masses; the problems of the unity of the party and the people, the consolidation of all social forces of society, and the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation of all nations and nationalities of our country.

With all the diversity, all the complexity and scale and responsibility of the tasks being solved by the party, the Soviet individual has been and remains the subject of its daily attention. The concern for him permeates all party decisions and the entire ideological work of the CPSU. And it is to it, for the most part, that the materials included in the book are devoted.

As is well known, a detailed characterization of the place and role of ideological and ideological-education work of the party was provided in the materials of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In them were formulated the requirements made today with respect to ideological work, the integral features of which are scientific character, truthfulness, realism, and business-like character.

It is necessary to decisively raise all ideological-education and propaganda activity to the level of complex tasks, which the party decides in the process of the improvement of developed socialism. We must subject all of our ideological and mass-political work to the requirements of the construction of the new society--this policy the CPSU carries out consistently and steadily.

The party possesses a rich arsenal of means for the enlightenment and education of the workers. The present level of education and the spiritual needs of the Soviet people make increased demands on the character of the utilization of these means. We must declare merciless war on formalism, rote work, sluggishness, and ostentatious ballyhoo. We must secure a higher level of ideological-theoretical activity, which nourishes propaganda with new conclusions and

propositions, change the style of work of the system of political education, and secure that every Soviet person have a deep understanding of the policy of the party, skillfully apply in practice the knowledge obtained, and honorably discharge their public and civil duty in fact.

The present-day period is characterized by two opposing world views, two political courses--socialism and imperialism. This is where the front of the battle is for the minds and hearts of billions of people, on the outcome of which the future of mankind depends to a considerable extent. Hence there are two inter-related tasks: The skillful and effective propagation of the truth about socialism, Soviet society, and the peace-loving policy of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the merciless exposure of the lie and slander of imperialism and its propagandistic diversions.

The realization of the decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade M. V. Zimyanin said at the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference has exerted and continues to exert profound influence on all aspects of the life of Soviet society. After the June Plenum, the Central Committee thoroughly examined the complex of questions of the ideological securing of the realization of the largest tasks in the sphere of internal and external policy of the party and reached important decisions concerning the reform of the general education and professional school, concerning the leadership of the Komsomol, concerning the improvement of the activity of the mass media, and concerning the creation of a unified system of counterpropaganda.

Our propaganda has begun to provide more active assistance to the realization of the economic and social policy of the party, making a worthy contribution to the strengthening of the economic and social unity of the people and in the development of the fraternal friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR. Ideological work is truly becoming the business of the entire party and every communist.

We have every reason to note positive changes in ideological work after the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade K. U. Chernenko writes in the article "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism". But these are only the first steps. We will still have to do a great deal in order for the content, the effectiveness, the forms and methods of our propaganda, and its material-technical base to meet the increased needs of the Soviet people, the tasks of the improvement of developed socialism, and an aggressive struggle against bourgeois ideology, and in order to extirpate from the practice of propaganda the pursuit of the ringing phrase, tired cliches, and attempts to avoid questions which are worrying workers.

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The main sphere of the ideological work of our party is the communist education of the workers. This process is multifaceted. A person is educated in the labor collective, in the family, and in educational institutions. He is shaped by the laws and traditions of society, by real social relations, by the mass information and propaganda media, by literature and art. All of these are components of communist education and of the socio-political, ideological, and moral influence of society on the individual. In the materials of the collection, they are examined in their interrelationship, thoroughly and in detail.

The ideological activity of the party, permeated by the Leninist principle of the unity of ideological-theoretical, political education, organizational and economic work, is traced in the speeches of comrade M. V. Zimyanin in historical dynamics, in connection with life and with the urgent tasks of the construction of the new society. The propagation of Marxism-Leninism as a unified and integral international doctrine, it is emphasized in the collection, must be closely linked to the explanation of the decisions of the congresses of the party and its Central Committee, as well as the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, to the masses, and with the propagation of progressive experience of realizing the plans and programs outlined by the party.

The central direction of our political-education work is the mobilization of the labor energy of the masses toward the realization of the economic policy of the CPSU. At the basis of the ideological-educational work in regard to the realization of this policy, it is pointed out in the collection, must be the explanation of its goals and tasks, the paths of their attainment. The main task consists in securing the further growth of the prosperity of the Soviet people on the basis of the steadfast, forward development of the national economy, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and the transfer of the economy to an intensive path of development, the more rational utilization of the production potential of the country, every conceivable economy of all types of resources, and the improvement of the quality of work.

The question in the book, above all, is to make fuller and more efficient use--on the basis of thorough ideological-educational work in combination with measures of economic and organizational procedure--of all the advantages of socialism for the solution of the new tasks in the sphere of the economy, to accelerate the integration of science and production, to improve the methods of the management of the economy, to secure proportionality in the development of the national economy on the basis of the correct system of priorities, and to strengthen the role of the state plan as the chief instrument of the economic policy of the party.

A characteristic feature of the progress of the present-day Soviet economy, it is emphasized in the collection, is the increase of the role of the subjective factor. The intensification of production and the realization of a decisive turn to efficiency and quality depend in many respects on the political consciousness, the professional competence, and the moral-psychological qualities of the workers, kolkhoz farmers, technicians, engineers and scientists. At the center and at the local level, in all links and in all cells of the national economy, the workers must develop an increased understanding of the problems that arise, and the possibilities of their solution must be better revealed and utilized. The political, organizational and educational work of the party, as well as the system of material and moral incentives, are aimed at this.

All our propaganda and the mass media are called upon to secure the extensive illumination of the realization of the economic policy of the party and every possible support of the patriotic undertakings of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, and those who are the first to attain high boundaries, to promote the practical introduction of their progressive experience, to demonstrate new forms of labor organization and management, and to wage



a battle against everything that hampers and holds back the intensification of production.

One of the main obstacles to our further advancement is the force of inertia, traditions and habits, which took shape in the period when not so much the quality, as the quantity aspect of the enterprise stood in the foreground in the economy. The intensification of public production requires a fundamental change of economic thinking and of the psychology of the managers and all of our cadres.

A special role in the realization of such a change in the public consciousness, the author writes, belongs to the system of political and economic education. The concern for the increase of the theoretical knowledge of the workers must be organically combined here with the training of the most important social qualities--love of work, a feeling of responsibility, a thrifty attitude toward public property, and an ability to make full and expedient use of everything which the country has at its disposal. In our propaganda and in the system of party and Komsomol studies, we must more persistently emphasize and explain that the well-being of the people depends, above all, on the results of everyone's labor.

Socialism is creating the conditions for a new attitude toward labor. But, it goes without saying, they do not operate by themselves, automatically. In educational work it is important to show that a person's attitude toward labor determines his position and authority in our society. We should not only explain the rights of a person to work, to a choice of profession, but also the right to form an understanding of the general obligatoriness of conscientious labor under socialism.

The economic policy of the party carries in itself an enormous ideological-educational and moral charge. The explanation of its humanistic and deeply popular essence to the masses is the indispensable condition for the realization, by every toiler, of the goal and meaning of the intensification of production, the increase of its efficiency, the necessity of strenuous work, and a creative attitude toward labor. The efforts of the party committees, the ideological institutions, the entire multi-million army of ideological workers, all state and economic organs, it is emphasized in the book, must be aimed at fusing together the economic policy of the party and the creativity, initiative and energy of the masses, at securing the steady growth of the well-being of the workers.

The most important characteristic feature of the present-day stage of the development of Soviet society is the increasingly close link between progress of the economy and socio-political and spiritual progress. In the socio-political sphere, our economic achievements are being materialized and conditions are being created which promote the strengthening of the socialist way of life and the comprehensive development of the individual. Thereby is formed a still more durable vital support of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and our positions in the ideological struggle in the international arena are strengthened.

In the ideological-educational work, it is important to reveal in detail the essence of the social policy of the CPSU, to adjust the purposes of our propaganda to the real possibilities of society, and not to lose touch with life. Propaganda

must take into account the advances in the social structure and in social relations. You see, the realization of social policy, as well as economic policy, depends to a decisive degree on the awareness, organization and activeness of the masses, i. e., subjective human factors. Ideological work, which is connected with the realization of this policy, is not a simple matter. Many questions arise here for the first time, which require a search for the corresponding forms and methods of our activity and great responsibility in the determination of the ideological content of propagandistic speeches, for we are talking about problems which touch on the direct and vital interests of individual people and whole social, professional and national groups.

Showing the enormous achievements of the Soviet order in the social and spiritual spheres, it is necessary, the book states, to look soberly at the state of affairs, to present life as it is, its objective contradictions, the difficulties of growth, and the mistakes and the underfulfillments that have been permitted in some sectors. The party, with all determination, comes out against ostentatious ballyhoo and the varnishing of reality. It is necessary to broadly develop the struggle against such negative phenomena as egoism and narrow-mindedness, greediness, bureaucratism, indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people, drunkenness, parasitism, corruption, against violations of the law, and any antisocial manifestations. The eradication of such negative phenomena to a decisive extent depends on the further strengthening of socialist legality, the improvement of social, in particular distributive, relations, and on the objective and just assessment of the work of every person. It is clear that in the solution of this task an active and exceedingly responsible role belongs to ideological and political education work. The mass media and the system of oral propaganda, by energetically supporting what is new and advanced, must tirelessly wage a battle against negative phenomena. And it must be waged constantly, showing persistence, consistency, and, if you will, writes the author, courage.

It goes without saying, communist education must be built, above all, on a positive example. The portrayal of the very essence of life and the activity of Soviet society are the unshakeable foundation of our propaganda. But this must in no case lead to the underestimation of the social and ideological-educational significance of criticism and self-criticism. It must be developed even further, conducting an uncompromising struggle against all attempts of the suppression of criticism and contempt for the critical observations and proposals of the workers.

At present it is extremely important, it is emphasized in the book, to enrich the content of ideological work in every conceivable way with regard to the growing spiritual needs of the workers, in organic connection with the basic processes of social life, and to attain greater systematic character and completeness of the inclusion of the basic masses of the workers by propaganda and agitation, remembering the necessity of being concerned about the ideological and moral growth of every Soviet person. Especially important is such concern about the education of young people.

The present-day stage of social development gives rise to new and more modern forms of social life, and together with them also a new type of individual. For this reason, the party regards the improvement of the system of public education as one of the factors of the all-round progress of society.

The book of comrade M. V. Zimyanin thoroughly analyzes the processes of the development of the higher school and the formation of skilled specialists who possess high Marxist-Leninist training, think creatively, and promote the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

The author devotes a great deal of attention to the reform of the general education and professional school. The documents determining its goals and content represent the development of Leninist principles of public education, a new stage in the theory and practice of the communist education of young people. The chief goal of the reform, it is stated in the collection, is to increase the quality of education and the communist upbringing of the young generation and to achieve a fundamental improvement in the training of young people for life, work, and the defense of the country. On this path a great deal of work lies ahead with respect to bringing the system of education into conformity with the present-day requirements of social and scientific-technical progress, preserving everything valuable that has been attained in the sphere of public education. The key idea of the reform is the fundamental improvement of labor training and professional orientation of the rising generation, the combination of training with productive labor. The party is interested in young Soviet citizens' being educated not simply as repositories of a certain sum of knowledge and habits, but as active builders of communism, with the correct ideological aims, morals and interests, spiritually rich, and with high standard of labor and conduct.

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The ability to explain convincingly the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the conformity of its interests with the expectations of all the nations of the earth, it is emphasized in the book, is acquiring greater significance in our propaganda. The propagation of our foreign policy promotes the strengthening of its support by the broad international community. It is necessary to reveal the Leninist principles of foreign policy and to show their consistent embodiment and development in the international actions of the USSR. The entire course of world events provides convincing argumentation for the rightness, humaneness and realism of our foreign policy. This policy is determined not by some business-cycle calculations, but by the very nature of socialism--the most humane social order in history.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. In explaining this, it is impossible, needless to say, to permit a pacifist treatment of the peaceful disposition of the Soviet people. Our Fatherland combines the struggle for the victory of the ideals of peace, reason and humaneness in international relations with a decisive repulse to the forces of reaction and aggression. The economic and defense might of the USSR, the high combat-readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces, and the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries and participants of the Warsaw Pact--all of these reliably guarantee the defense of our revolutionary achievements and serve the cause of peace.

In foreign policy propaganda, it is necessary to consistently and in principle expose the imperialist policy of the seizure of foreign territories, the

preparation of thermonuclear war, and to cut short the intrigues of the imperialist forces, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, linking this with the criticism of the entire system of capitalist exploitation and oppression, and all the abominations of the so-called "Free World". It is a well-known fact that, finding itself in a state of deep general crisis, including an ideological-political and moral crisis, imperialism is not in a position to advance ideas which could rally and inspire the masses of the people. But its ideologists and propagandists are exceedingly refined in the business of the stupefaction and deception of the masses of the people, provocations and diversions against socialism. Defending the foundations of capitalism, they have never stopped and are not stopping before the most shameless lie, before any crimes against humanity.

When our class antagonists attempt to accuse us of "military-political expansion", "threat" to the West, etc., they pursue two goals simultaneously: First of all, to discredit the ideals of communism, the political and social order of the Soviet Union and the other countries of communism; secondly, to create a distinctive "smoke-screen", which conceals the absolute power of the money bag, the reaction of imperialism along the entire line, its arbitrariness and force with respect to the workers.

Incidentally, the author notes, these gentlemen, who in propaganda to the outside world go to great pains about their devotion to freedom, in propaganda calculated for internal consumption require unconditional subjection from the masses of the people to the authority of the capitalist state and do not feel shy in the expression of hatred for the revolutionary working class and its communist vanguard. When question involves a direct threat to the power of the exploiters, they call upon the fascist and neo-fascist beasts, the racist and chauvinist military clique for assistance. Advancing, it would seem, the most diverse conceptions of social development, beginning with the long since collapsed idea of the celebrated "capitalism of the people" and ending with contemporary reactionary utopias of the "post-industrial" and "technetronic" era, our class antagonists only mask with splendid phraseology their philosophical poverty and their most trivial bourgeois conformism imaginable.

A multitude of attempts to create ever new conceptions of the immortalization of the power of imperialism has been and, no doubt, will be undertaken by its apologists. In so doing, the essence of scientific socialism is radically distorted, the aspiration is manifested to push the working class from the revolutionary path to the path of reformism, nationalism, and spiritual subjection to the bourgeoisie. Hence--the treatment of the masses in the spirit of reactionary ideology. This is directly aimed at the working class, the workers, and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, against the revolutionary renewal of the world and, naturally, against the Soviet Union and the entire world of socialism.

Imperialism has created an enormous and highly expensive propaganda machine, which pours out streams of misinformation and slander at the socialist system, at the Soviet political and social order. The so-called official science in the countries of capital basically works in unison with this machine. Honest scientists are far from determining the state of the social sciences there. Only the communist vanguard of the working class and its revolutionary thought in the

most difficult conditions actively fight against the policy and ideology of imperialist reaction and its accomplices--the right and "left" opportunists and revisionists. The more important, it is emphasized in the book, for all personnel of our party in theory and propaganda, and scientists working in the sphere of the social sciences, together with the fraternal parties and all revolutionary forces of the present day, to fight still more energetically in the ideological struggle in the international arena for the noble ideals of Marxism-Leninism, for peace and friendship among the nations.

In the conditions of the aggravated ideological-political struggle of the two opposed socio-economic systems, counterpropaganda activity and our further attack on the ideology and policy of imperialism and its accomplices--the opportunists and revisionists of all colors, it is pointed out in the book, acquire special significance. The points of departure of this attack are the historical correctness of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, the Leninist ideas in the sphere of foreign policy propaganda, and the world-wide historic successes of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth in the construction of the new society and its immense advantages over capitalism. It is important to assist in every possible way the consolidation of positions of world socialism, the securing of favorable conditions for communist creation, the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement, the rallying of all national liberation, progressive, and peace-loving forces in the anti-imperialist struggle, for peace and friendship among the nations and for the bright future of mankind.

We have at our disposal an enormous number of facts--they are provided by every new day--which show what non-transient values--spiritual and material--have been created by the Soviet people, its science and culture. The dynamism of the development of our country, the growth of the well-being of the people, the level of their education, the expansion and enrichment of public interests, the achievements of the socio-economic policy of the party, and the development of socialist democracy and the Soviet way of life--all of these have established an optimistic moral and political climate in our country and the unity of the ruling party and the people, which are impossible under capitalism. We must conduct propaganda properly and demonstrate to the foreign community all the achievements of socialism in the economy, the social sphere, science and culture.

It is important to wage an ideological attack on imperialism in order to arouse the consciousness of the popular masses enslaved by capitalism and--through our historic example and passionate party word--impart to them energy and purposefulness in the struggle against the forces of exploitation and force, against the poisoning with spiritual booze, the blind obedience "to the strong of this world", nationalism and chauvinism.

The basic means of the realization of this requirement is the further increase in the effectiveness and quality of our propaganda and the strengthening of its offensive aggressive character. In so doing, the author notes, it is impossible not to take into account the internal counterpropaganda aspect. You see, it is no secret that some people, especially inexperienced young people, at times still lack, unfortunately, vigilance, a critical and class approach to the sources of bourgeois propaganda, whose activity, as is well known, is

growing. It is necessary to cultivate more consistently and persistently a stable irreconcilability toward harmful propaganda, beginning with an early age, when the preparation of a person for independent life goes on. Here the schools, the vocational-technical schools, the tekhnikums and VUZ's must have their say. Already during the years spent as a student, it is expedient to develop in young people the habits of assessing social processes from class positions, to form a scientific, communist world view, ideological and moral firmness.

It is also necessary to further develop and improve the work in regard to the exposure and suppression of the ideological diversions of imperialism, to organize the broader training of propaganda personnel in regard to the problems of the ideological struggle, to secure depth and to strengthen the argumentation of the criticism of antipopular essence of imperialism, its ideology and policy in the courses of lectures on the social sciences in the educational institutions and in the system of party training. The question is the education, in Soviet people, of the ability to conduct an ideological polemic, to try to vindicate their views, to convince and to disprove their opponents.

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The book of comrade M. V. Zimyanin "Under the Banner of Leninism" is undertaken for the arming of the party aktiv and various categories of ideological workers. Without a doubt, it will be useful to scientists and social scientists, teachers of the social disciplines in the higher and secondary educational institutions, lecturers, speakers, and propagandists of the system of political studies, and workers of the mass media--in short, to all who take part in ideological-educational activity.

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NATIONAL

YOUTH JOURNAL PROTESTS STRUGATSKIY'S FUTURISTIC NOVEL

Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in Russian No 2, 1985 (signed to press 4 Dec 84)  
pp 282-288

[Article by A. Shabanov: "In The Future 'Twilight Of Morality'"]

[Text] Today it is impossible to find a person who has an interest in science fiction and is not familiar with the works of Arkadiy and Boris Strugatskiy. The books of these famous Soviet authors are published in the USSR and have a circulation of several million copies; the works are translated into dozens of foreign languages and are worthy of international awards. All of this speaks not only of the extensive recognition of their genius, but also of the great accountability the authors feel toward the reader for every new book, as well as of the need to constantly maintain and enhance the level of artistic contact with the readership reached with the previous works.

In the authors' brief preface leading into the novel "A Beetle in the Anthill,"\* A. and B. Strugatskiy remind the reader of the essential problem of their creativity: "More than 20 years ago, we began with our novel "Noon, the 22nd Century" a cycle of works concerned with the distant future we wanted to envision. These works include: 'Escape Attempt,' 'A Faraway Rainbow,' 'The Difficulty of Being God,' 'The Inhabited Isle,' 'The Little Boy,' and 'The Fellow From the Underworld.' The action in all these novels takes place in the 22nd century, and their main heroes are kommunars: the people of a communist Earth and the representatives of a united mankind which has already forgotten what poverty, hunger, injustice and exploitation are. 'A Beetle in the Anthill' is the latest novel in this cycle." The Strugatskiys leave no doubt that their new novel is dedicated to a distant future they themselves would like to see.

The universe in which the novel's action unfolds is densely populated by alien beings. The authors' imagination runs wild with regard to life forms totally strange for intelligent beings, but not with regard to the earthlings and the beings (humanoids) similar to them. Crab-spiders from

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\*The novel was published in the anthology "The White Stone of Erdeniy." Leningrad Publishing House, 1982.

Pandora, the giant, dogheaded creatures from Saraksh and, finally, the mysterious, elusive, unfathomable and homeless super-powerful civilization of the Wanderers.

However, this is only the backdrop against which the main events take place. There is really no one today who would be amazed at "gigantic crab-spiders with two rows of dull-green eyes, monstrous, segmented bones and meter-and-a-half pincer-like claws." The degree of reader interest is not dependent on the number of eyes and the dimensions of the claws. There is also a witty detective plot in the novel which keeps the reader on the edge of his seat. An official of KOMKON, the Control Commission which sees to it that science does not harm the Earth's inhabitants as it makes its rapid and tumultuous advances, is Maxim Kamerer. It is Kamerer who narrates the story. He receives from the leader of KOMKON, Excellence, a secret mission: Find a certain Progressor by the name of Lev Abalkin. Step by step, Kamerer discovers that Abalkin is not a human being, but a "foundling" of the Wanderers who has been programed in such a manner that he is a threat to the earthlings with unforeseeable and possibly irreparable consequences. Excellence is forced to decide whether to permit or disallow an experiment by the Wanderers. The novel closes with the death of this certain Progressor, Lev Abalkin, who is unsuccessful at implementing his program.

Despite the plot, however, the reader is more, and not less interested in the authors' promised communist future of Earth.

It is not difficult for the Strugatskiys to shift their action to the 22nd century. They show Kamerer's amazement as he looks at a document case for papers, but cannot recall its name without great effort. The novel's pages are full of all kinds of "jumpers," "gliders," "intrafizors," specialists in "left metritis" and "experimental history," "patoxinologists" and "dzyiusts." The "nutl-T" cabin should dispell any skeptics' lingering doubts. The "nutl-T" is "an artificially built wooden latrine" which transports people in an instant. Of course, it is as difficult to imagine that the 22nd century differs from our own only in the availability of "intrafizors" as it is difficult to imagine that the 20th century differs from the 18th only in the presence of ICBMs, color television and, let's say, microelectronic specialists. However, no one can contest the fact that it will be some time before we forget the names of common objects. Ultimately, we can simply believe the authors' description of the 22nd century: For them, the world is real. What is important to us is how we imagine the people who make up the society of the 22nd century. After all, according to Marx, it is only after the building of communism that genuine human history will begin. What then do the Strugatskiys believe makes the story move forward? How do their novel's heroes and the people of the distant future they described live?

With regard to their activities, the novel's heroes can be divided into two groups: scientists and members of KOMKON. The former solve complicated scientific problems, while the latter protect the scientists from themselves. There is a reason for this, you know. It is demonstrated by the character of Bromberg, a Wanderer who wants scientific development without any restrictions. If he had his way, he would transform the entire Earth into a laboratory



retort in which an explosive mixture would result from a careless passion for experimentation and a powerful scientific intellect. We are not supposed to worry about the role of science in the development of society, and if there is an accident, there literally will be no one left to pick up the pieces of this laboratory retort.

There is a special group, the Progressors. The group is special because the Progressors, by virtue of their profession on Earth, are rarely encountered and are not liked by the other earthlings; even the members of KOMKON, the majority of whom are former Progressors, do not care for them. This could appear strange, inasmuch as they are occupied with a very noble cause: the acceleration of the development of the remaining alien civilizations. The Strugatskiys explain this antipathy with psychological reasoning: "...the overwhelming majority of earthlings is organically incapable of comprehending that there are situations which exclude compromise. Either they do it to me, or I do it to them, and there is no one to figure out who is right. This sounds wild to the normal earthling... I remember vividly this view of life when any bearer of intelligence was automatically perceived to be an essence ethically your equal, when it was impossible to even ask the question: 'is he better or worse than I, even if his ethics and morality are different from my own...' You yourself had to pass the twilight of morality and see with your own eyes how one was supposed to singe one's own skin and accumulate more than a dozen nauseating memories in order to comprehend finally, and not just simply comprehend, but to pour into your world outlook this ancient, most trivial thought: 'yes, there are bearers of intelligence in the world who are quite and considerably worse than you, no matter how you were...' Only then will you acquire the capability of dividing things into what is your own and what is alien, making instantaneous decisions in difficult situations. You will learn the boldness to act from the start. Only then will you be ready to figure things out."

I have risked quoting here Maxim Kamerer's ideas because the notorious "twilight of morality" of the Progressors themselves is reflected in these ideas as in a mirror. These ideas, which turn inside out the very concept of progress, actually sound wild to the reader. The Progressors justify their aggressiveness with references to the difference in the psychology of the humanoid and non-humanoid. All one can do is to throw up one's hands and not engage in a scholastic argument with the authors on the hypothetical psychology of hypothetical aliens. However, the Strugatskiys ascribe similar thoughts to the people living in the communist society of the 22nd century and this evokes protest. Such a society could not be communist!

We can tolerate the fact that the Strugatskiys did not send plenipotentiaries of the communist Earth to other planets and that the Progressors were stricken with, God knows how, the sudden infection of American supermanism. But even in the 22nd century they are not liked. Perhaps we have to look for the authors' ideal not among their depicted Progressors, but among the "indigenous ones," that is to say, among the earth's KOMKON members and scientists?

The scientists in the novel are represented by the zealous experimenter, Bromberg, while the control commission is personified by Excellence, Kamerer and two, or three faceless, ordinary collaborators. The authors do not spare Bromberg any amount of irony and sarcasm; for them, he is a "spirited, respectable little old man," who, however, flies into a "zoological rage" at every little problem and "becomes as uncontrolled as a cataclysm in outer space." Bromberg is more often depicted in the novel not as simply "speaking" or "pronouncing" his remarks in conversation, but as "wailing" and "screeching" them. He finally annoys Excellence to such an extent that Excellence likens it to the way "a biting fly or intrusive mosquito annoys." Bromberg, as he is depicted, obviously is not important.

What then is the embodiment and expression of the authors' ideal? Who is the promised representative of united mankind? The komunar from the distant future? Excellence or Kamerer? The problem is difficult to solve; both Excellence and Kamerer are former Progressors, something which had to leave its mark on their way of thinking. This applies to Excellence to an even greater extent. The Strugatskiys describe an argument between Excellence and Bromberg as such: "They did not resemble men, but two old, shabby fighting-cocks." The obvious comparison is heard in the names "sclerous demagogues," "old mules," "senile old men," and "venomous shrimp," with which the two award each other while they argue. These slow-witted representatives of a certain and obviously decaying civilization hurl such other terms at each other as "uneatable rattails," "foul-smelling animals," and "rat-eared snakes."

Excellence, no matter how you justify his references to a concern for mankind's security and his idea that "the end justifies the means," is simply a murderer. His Progressor's habit of making decisions himself and acting without thinking was the cause of Lev Abalkin's death. The "ominous" Excellence appears to the reader to be amazingly helpless, as helpless as the entire World Council of which he is a member. Life on Earth in the 22nd century according to the Strugatskiys, will be built basically on silence, on the withholding of information necessary for the earthlings to decide their fate, on mutual mistrust, and on a scandalous irresponsibility on every level. How can we think otherwise if the World Council first conceals, more accurately, "covers up" information on a certain device found in space? This device first threatens an incomprehensible and even more terrible danger and then promises a new level of progress for civilization on earth. The council then forgets about it and shoves the solution of the problem onto Excellence's shoulders; he is incapable of solving the problem by himself, although he undertakes the solution with the self-confidence characteristic of the Progressors. His solution is hackneyed: kill and destroy everything which threatens danger, even if it means destroying the hope for the projected progress.

What scared the experienced Excellence so that he began to fire his favorite 26-barrel "herzog" like an ordinary Hollywood cowboy? He was frightened by something which he was incapable of imagining, something he could not even name, except for "the time-bomb." This bomb is Lev Abalkin. Whether the bomb "will explode" or not and whether the "explosion" will be destructive is known only by the Wanderers who, as is known, keep things pretty much to themselves. If Excellence lets Abalkin live, the earthlings face the risk of

becoming guinea pigs; if he destroys Abalkin, the Earth will face the fate of the planet Tagor which accepted the Wanderers' "gift" and thus reached a "terrible deadlock," but the planet is, incidentally, satisfied with its own existence.

What can one say? The contrived situation is complicated and a single logic will not help solve it. Here, the argumentation of a different order is necessary, the argumentation of the logic of character, the logic of society's social progress, and the logic of the authors' point of view. Unfortunately, the authors were unable to offer an artistically convincing solution to their constructed contradiction. If we can explain Excellence's actions with his Progressor's past, then the remaining arguments are poorly convincing. It is hard to see an individual of a communist future and a representative of a united mankind in the authors' sense in Excellence who personally sways the Earth's destiny and selects for it the delightful deadlock of "the golden century."

Maybe the very "bomb" itself, Abalkin, is the one the reader is vainly trying to find in the novel? The authors' sympathy hardly lies with him: Abalkin does not understand why the members of KOMKON have idolized him his entire life; they do not let him choose a profession; they do not permit him to do his favorite thing; they do not permit him on Earth for decades; and even deny him the right to call himself a man! Nonetheless, he looks as much a human being as all the others, and his soul is human: he knows how to love and suffer and be happy... Gradually, the wish to sympathize with Lev Abalkin and to admire him diminishes; it finally disappears altogether. "He is really a wild kind of guy." The reader has doubts, however. "You see, he has become sorry for little worms, yet he remains indifferent to people. And the way he thrashed his girl, Maya! As if she were a goat. She herself recalled: 'She should have run away when he began to strike her. He could not have cared less for her or that she was a girl and three years younger than he. She belonged to him and that was that. She was his thing, his personal property...' Abalkin thrashed his fragile girl friend 'cruelly and mercilessly like he thrashed his wolves which tried to tear away from under his control.'"

In order to keep him far from the Earth, the World Council decided to make Abalkin a Progressor and the perverted ideals of an aggressive Progressor humanism found fertile soil in his soul. With time, his childhood desire to dominate, to master undividedly a thing, a girl, his fate, the whole planet is the naive Progressor conviction that he has the right to decide the fates of peoples and civilizations and it pushed him towards death.

While reading the novel, one gets the impression that the distinctive trait of the future's people is an egotistical self-sufficiency, something which is not even fortified with particular intellectual abilities and is not restricted by any kind of moral framework.

"We all look like Napoleon," the reader recalls, "millions of two-legged creatures are a single instrument for us, we have a wild and funny feeling..."

Our last hope is in Maxim Kamerer. He, however, is unfortunately too amorphous to occupy the high position of a communist humanity. The main thing with which Kamerer is concerned, without becoming too deeply involved anywhere and without getting into any kinds of mysteries, is to see to it that both Abalkin remains safe and Excellence, as they say, is satisfied. Or maybe it is just the other way around?

According to a statement by one of the authors, A. Strugatskiy: "If we digress from the physical data of our hero which the educational system of the distant future provided him, we find that there is a great number of such Maxims among the members of today's generation. In our society and right by our side, there are people now living who are totally ready to live and work under communism."

Readers who closely follow not only the creativity of A. and B. Strugatskiy, but also their statements in the periodic press and on the television have noticed the consistency of these statements. For example, A. Strugatskiy has stated more than once that the basic idea of their creativity is "a reflection of reality in an artistic form; reality is not only the world of things, but also the world of our ideas." He expresses himself categorically at meetings with lovers of science fiction: "We have never written about the future, and we do not intend to do so. We are interested in today's problems, today's people and their concerns." In the author's preface to the novel "A Beetle in the Anthill," he repeats himself and reveals the writers' 20-year interest in the human society of the distant future.

The novel "A Beetle in the Anthill" asks many questions of the reader. These questions, however, do not attempt to understand the basic problems of earthly existence, nor discuss the important aspects of individual, societal and scientific development. They do not attempt to analyze the ethics of interaction between man and nature, man and science and the individual and society.

Readers who are occupied with guessing the psychological rebuses of the Strugatskiys' novel have no time to concern themselves with complicated ethical questions. They would be satisfied with only finding a true road in the "twilight of morality" which covered the novel, understanding whomever the authors had in mind when they vividly describe the Progressors' psychology which frightens with its anthropocentrism, and figuring out what is facing them: an attempt to represent the future of an Earth on which communism has been built, or a warning picture of social relations, the motor and basis of which is egocentricity. And if "A Beetle in the Anthill" is a novel with a warning, then how do we relate in this instance to the authors' assurances in the preface that the novel's heroes, the komunars, are representatives of a united mankind? What does the society depicted by the Strugatskiys have in common with the novel "Noon, the 22nd Century," in which a conscientious and sincere attempt was made to envision the distant future and present the spiritual world of people in a new communist society?

The beginning of the Strugatskiy brothers' creative work coincided with the appearance of the remarkable "Mist of Andromeda" by I. Yefremov. Their first

novel, "Land of the Crimson Clouds," won third place in the competition in which "The Mist of Andromeda" won first. "The Mist of Andromeda" opened a new epoch for Soviet science fiction. In this work I. Yefremov revealed to the reader in bold frankness the goal of his creativity by having injected the acutely contemporary idea of humanity into the ancient genre of utopia. Reading the statements similar to what was done in the preface to "A Beetle in the Anthill" leaves you with the impression that the Strugatskiy brothers are almost successors to the creative ideas of I. Yefremov in Soviet science fiction. However, such a conclusion would be a bit too hasty; the Strugatskiys themselves confirmed this more than once by saying that you need to look primarily for an interpretation of our life today in their works. But if this is true, how are we to understand and evaluate their last novel "A Beetle in the Anthill?" What kind of analogies can we cite with today's world?

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NATIONAL

OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL NOVEL OF 1980'S

Moscow LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 3-11

[Article by V. Oskotskiy: "The Political Novel of the 80's"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Terms do not appear all of a sudden, or at least they are not always spotted immediately. Upon detecting something new in the ideological imagery or the subject and compositional structure of modern prose, both the writers and the critics--trying it on for fit, as it were--have sought the most adequate term for it, one which would correspond to the essential genre of narratives oriented to large-scale socially significant subjects, to problems with great socio-political reverberation. For example, the following descriptions of novels have appeared: documentary novel, chronicle, sociopolitical novel and political history novel. Merging the terms "novel" and "politics" into "political novel," A. Chakovskiy was just about the first writer to put them on the title page of a book. It was explained this way on the threshold of magazine publication of the novel "Pobeda" [Victory]: "It seems to me that the political novel is characterized by an acute social orientation, the raising of fundamental problems of the era and reflection of the main trends in the development of social and political life. The subject of such a novel is organized and moved forward not by conflicts in personal destinies and not by the traditional love story. It is frequently directed by an openly antagonistic social conflict in which various types of public awareness clash."

And so, we have the /political novel/. Criticism accepted and fostered this definition and made the definition a part of its usual terminology, then immediately began applying it to a number of other, related developments in epic prose, which just as graphically expressed a conspicuous and certainly not outwardly formal, but inwardly meaningful feature of artistic awareness, the /ideologization/ and /politicization/ of which have been most noticeable at the crest of important historical turning points, turbulent social upheavals and profound social advances.

Let us recall the mid-30's when the brown plague of fascism had swept over Europe and intensified the precognition of the impending war. K. Fedin's "Pokhishcheniye Yevropy" [The Abduction of Europe] and "Sanatoriy Arkturn" [Arkturn Santatorium], N. Ostrovskiy's "Rozhdennyye burey" [Born of the Storm] and B. Yasenskiy's "Zagovor Ravnodushnykh" [A Conspiracy of the Indifferent] were written during that period as anti-fascist political novels. (B. Yasenskiy's novel and lampoon "Ya zhgu Parizh" [I Am Burning Paris], written in 1928 as a direct response

to P. Moran's anti-Soviet lampoon "I Am Burning Moscow," is in the same ranks.) Or take the last prewar year and the first postwar years, when I. Erenburg wrote "Padeniye Parizha" [The Fall of Paris] and "Burya" [The Storm], depicting the very course of World War II with the detailed political panorama of both novels--from its tragic beginning, predetermined by the infamous Munich Compact, to the capitulation of the Hitlerite Reich. Or take the following "cold war" decade, which L. Leonov described, hot on its heels, in the film "The Flight of Mr. McKinley," which innovatively combined the features of the political lampoon and the philosophical essay....

This is also happening today, at the end of the 20th century, when "something is at stake which has never before been at stake, even during the ice age: the fate of civilization. Every individual faces the same question: How to save human society from its threatened destruction, from the devastation of the planet, from a return to the stone age"? Let us back up these words of elder publicist and expert on international affairs E. Genri (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 12 December 1984) with a philosopher's conclusion, which describes the new social and spiritual situation of the 80's, in which "it is now frequently not just a matter of /improving/ the conditions for human existence, but primarily man's /survival/ in the decades immediately ahead." A direct and immediate /threat/ to our civilization, "and on a scale without equal in history," is emerging as a result of a failure to resolve persistent social and economic, political and ideological, natural science, scientific and technical, economic and demographic problems of the contemporary era, which have been defined as global in philosophy and sociology--that is, of a worldwide nature, influencing "literally all aspects of the life of the individual and of mankind." The most global of all global problems--that of preventing a nuclear world war, which must not and cannot be /an alternative "to end all forms of existence of human civilization"/<sup>1</sup>--is the most important of these, of course.

Global problems of the modern era are a concept equally close to both scientific and artistic thought. Invading literature and art, they expand their creative horizons and their research bridgeheads there. We can see this from the example of Yu. Bondarev's novels "Bereg" [The Shore] and "Vybor" [The Choice], into whose ideological-moral polyphony are introduced ideological discussion and political dialogue on historical experience with past wars and on the paths and the fate of today's world. O. Gonchar reflects on the same thing, although in his own way, in his novel "Tvoya zarya" [Your Dawn], in which the channel of monologue has an equal capacity for handling the lyrical-romantic, the social-analytical, journalistic and philosophical principles of narration. Next to it is A. Nurpeysov's "Dolg" [Duty], which also portrays the socially active hero of civic-oriented, humanistic thought, who responds sensitively to the dramatic conflicts of the times. And then, of course, there is Ch. Aytmatov's novel "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'" [And Longer Than the Century Lasts the Day], with a hypothetical-fantastic subject tenor, which affirms the concepts of peaceful coexistence, dialogue based on equal rights both on the earth and in the far reaches of outer space....

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<sup>1</sup>I.T. Frolov, "Perspektivy cheloveka. Opyt kompleksnoy postanovki problemy, diskussii, obobshcheniya" [Man's Prospects: Experience in the Comprehensive Formulation of the Problem, Its Discussion and Summarization], second edition, revised and enlarged, Moscow, Politizdat, 1983, pp 99, 100, 98.

All of these works are in the grand epic form, in the imagery of which politics are the more solidly entrenched, the more brilliantly they are reflected both in the turning points in the latest history of the recent past and in key events of the present, which are predetermining the future of peoples and states. Indeed so, as V. Ozerov said with the title of one of his books, "Trevogi mira v serdtse pisatelya" [Alarms of the World in the Heart of the Writer].

The social and aesthetic genesis of the political novel itself, whose essential genre and imagery frequently produce extremely contradictory interpretations, should be considered in this broad, general literary context. Precisely defining them is not a matter of narrow literary scholarship, and especially not one of terminology, but a problem having to do with the writer's creative orientation, with the succession of literary traditions and the innovative nature of modern artistic strivings.

Indisputably, today's political novel did not originate in a vacuum. The experience of previous decades is actively influencing its intensive development today. Nor have closely related developments in journalistic prose been lost in it. Yulian Semenov appropriately refers to some of them in a talk with L. Anninskiy (DRUZHBA NARODOV, No 1, 1984)--be it Gor'kiy's "Gorod Zheltogo D'yavola" [City of the Yellow Devil] or John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook The World" or M. Kol'tsov's "Ispanskiy dnevniki" [Spanish Diary] or Lev Ginzburg's "The Abyss". But if we trace the genealogy of the contemporary political novel back to "War and Peace" and "The Captain's Daughter" or even further back, to "Hamlet" and "King Lear"--and in the conversation both the writer and the critic express this view--then why not just begin at the beginning, with Homer?

While objecting to such an infinitely broad interpretation there is also no need to go to the other extreme--rigidly constrict and strictly regulate the genre shoreline of political prose. The crystallization of its typological features occurs in the dynamic movement of literature, in the vital process of realism's renewal and enrichment. It is therefore valid to speak only of the more general, clearly revealed and stable features.

As applicable to the contemporary political novel, they are reflected upon not just by the critics--M. Sinel'nikov in the book "Diktuyet vremya" [Dictated by the Times] (Moscow, Sovetskiy pisatel', 1983) and in the article "Complicity in the Idea" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 14 March 1984), Yu. Andreyev and L. Terakopyan in articles published in NEVA (No. 8, 1983) and DRUZHBA NARODOV (Nos. 2 and 3 1984)--but frequently also the writers themselves, based on their own creative lessons: A. Chakovskiy in the book "Literatura, politika, zhizn'" [Literature, Politics, Life] (Moscow, Politizdat, 1983) and V. Beekman in response to a "questionnaire" from DRUZHBA NARODOV (No. 10, 1983). Summarizing what they have said, I shall draw a preliminary conclusion reflecting one of the viewpoints which took shape. The political novel is, first and foremost, a novel of ideas, in whose subject dynamics there is an open conflict of political forces operating in the international arena, and in which different social systems and types of social awareness oppose one another. Both the sharply defined political urgency of the theme and the sharp social orientation of the subject stem from this. Both the theme and the subject reflect the global nature of the problems and conflicts of the era, the leading social and political trends in the life of the nation and of



the world. The views on the worlds, the ideological views and the moral principles of the intense confrontation on which the conflict in the narrative is based are antagonistic.

Now we come to a question which is brought out with special fervor and persistence by the writers. "...The main feature of creative literature, figurative thinking, is also mandatory for the political novel. This is what makes it a novel and not a scientific study, for example," A. Chakovskiy stresses. V. Beekman ardently insists on the political novel's inseparability from the novel in general: Prose must be prose, and not a sociopolitical treatise in images. This is the first premise. There is also a second one, however, which is somewhat categorically stated by L. Terakopyan. The political novel and the political story represent a collective concept, which refers "not so much to style, as to artistic structure and to the writer's orientation." Orientation is beyond question. But so are style and structure. It is important to stress this fact in order to judge the political novel and the political story precisely from the creative aspect of art, separating them from other magazine articles on topical international subjects.

Experience has shown that this delimitation is sometimes essential. Take, for example, M. Sturuy's article "A View of Washington From the Watergate Hotel" and B. Griбанov's article "A Bullet for the President," published not long ago in ZVEZDA (No. 7, 1982) and ZNAMYA (No. 6, 1982). They are both referred to as stories, but strictly speaking, they are not stories at all. In one of them we have an example of a detailed journalistic lampoon. The other is an original historical study. And although the author puts it into an externally fictional setting, which makes it possible to throw up a century-long bridge from the circumstances surrounding the murder of Abraham Lincoln to the tightly guarded secrets of Dallas--the tragic death of John Kennedy--it equally clearly gives away its fictional set, which can hardly be taken into account. Indeed, the undeniable merits of both works do not suffer at all from a comparison not with narrative works, but with the journalistic rank of articles and lampoons by E. Genri and Yu. Zhukov, L. Bezymenskiy and A. Bovin, A. Krivitskiy's book "Muzhskiye besedy" [Manly Conversations], V. Ovchinnikov's books and the deceased B. Vakhtin's last work, "Gibel' Dzhonstauna" [The Death of Jonestown] (NOVYY MIR, No. 2, 1982).

Thus, while not accepting the pseudonym "story" or "novel" for creative writing on social and public affairs, we would point out that the attraction for them which keeps breaking through is still symptomatic. It also indicates, in its own way, a diffusion of genres and the obliteration of their definitive borders. Specifically, this is how the ideological and artistic diversity of the current literary process manifests itself. The political novel also, as a development of ethic prose, acquires its genre definitiveness and its stylistic expressiveness in the guiding stream of this process. Neither can be contained within fixed boundaries with respect to either mobility or dynamic development. Yu. Surovtsev was therefore right to combine the highly diverse "offshoots of today's literature"--types of narration which are diverse not just thematically, but also in the artistic and stylistic sense--together under the general "heading" of political works. The political novel, he reasoned, could be a chronicle-type novel erected on a solid documentary foundation, a novel employing "the techniques of detective subject matter, which sprouts in precisely the soil of political strategems," a "hypothetical" novel with "fantastic and hypothetical subject turns and even scenes of action" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 21 March 1984)....

Let us recheck what we have said, beginning with Vitaliy Korotich's "Litso nenavisti" [The Face of Hatred], a journalistic "novel in letters," which absorbed the writer's impressions from attending a regular U.N. session in New York as a member of the Ukrainian delegation. Their authenticity is attested by extensive quotations clipped from the American press, which register the political, ideological and spiritual climate of Reagan's America in the frugal and concise language of specific details, facts and events. "Letters" constitute the artistic conventionality of the mode, while the building blocks of quotations form its documentary foundation. The kaleidoscopic alternation of the two, in the author's words, create an "instantaneous photograph" of reality in the USA today, deformed by a hysteria of hatred. Elevated by the ruling circles to become the principle of their foreign policy, it is "mutilating the nation from within," poisoning the "honest soul and good intentions of laboring America" with violence and terror. And only a "very high-voltage barrier" can keep the infectious and devastating hatred from escalating....

In Aleksandr Prokhanov's novels "Derevo v tsentre Kabula" [A Tree In the Center of Kabul], "V. ostrovakh okhotnik..." [On the Islands A Hunter...], "Afrikanist" [The Africanist] and "I vot prikhodit veter" [Then Comes The Wind], this barrier is provided by an indestructible "sense of truth and a striving for an intelligent and higher life." Like V. Korotich's "The Face of Hatred," these novels also represent that type of political prose which deals with the chronicle of international life and were written promptly on the still-fresh tracks of current events. The sense of life's reality, perceived through the prism of global problems of the era, penetrates the more fully into the conflicts which are a part of the subject matter of the narratives, the more deeply they are immersed in the political topics of the day and the closer their contact with the dramatic material of reality, gleaned at the crossroads of the contemporary world swept by the fiery squalls of undeclared wars. A. Prokhanov's fictitious heroes receive their baptism there--the journalist who "could have become an excellent writer," Ivan Volkov in the first novel, journalist and scholar Kirillov in the second, film director Kirill Bobrov in the third, and Andrey Gorlov, "veteran reporter who has become a venerable artist," in the fourth. What is it that takes them over the roads of Afghanistan, Cambodia, Mozambique and Nicaragua? What motivates them to peer into the life of other peoples and transmit reports from the forward edge of the battle, risking their lives in the process? Each of them is motivated by an awareness of his personal involvement in the happenings of history and the world's revolutionary reforms, and is guided by the life-affirming concept of social justice and spiritual harmony.

While giving the daring courage of A. Prokhanov's heroes their due, however, it would be fair to point out that they are not endowed with identical visual perception or depth of understanding of the reality opened up before them in all of the novels. Ivan Volkov is most lacking in this respect. His observations of the dramatic course of Afghan events are not always accompanied by intense spiritual feeling or purposeful reflection. It is mostly and most frequently a glance from the side, which does not penetrate into the concealed dialectics of life's developments or human destinies, and its imperfection becomes perceptible when we compare the novel "A Tree in the Center of Kabul" with Kim Selikhov's story "Neob'yavlenaya voyna" [The Undeclared War], for example. Its hero, also fictitious, an Afghan patriot, young and valorous fighter for the new life, has one worthy advantage in that he sees around himself much of that which Ivan Volkov was unable to discern.

It is more than just the networks of anti-popular intrigues woven by the CIA or the threads of subversive activities against the young democratic republic, which stretch to the Afghan borders from Pakistan, China, Egypt and Israel. The story also reveals those internal problems whose resolution is made difficult by the centuries-old legacy from the feudal past, which has confused the minds and souls of people with the narcotic of religion. This includes the disinclination of the peasants to take the land of yesterday's lords and landowners, which the land reform has come up against, "bogging down and coming to a halt, ...like a cart in a torrent," and unwillingness to accept other state decrees--even the abolishment of bride-money--which, they say, "were written by mortals," whereas "the Koran was written by a holy hand"....

The novels "On the Islands A Hunter...", "The Africanist" and "Then Comes the Wind" are distinguished by a more searching glance and greater concentration of thought than "A Tree in the Center of Kabul." Tracing the path of the bloody crimes of the Pol Pot clique, listening to more than one "tale of great tragedies" and reacting sensitively "to the sufferings of others," journalist Kirillov, for example, is concerned not merely with reproducing in reports, with recording what he had seen and heard, but, as has been said of him, "he constructed a concept of catastrophe, verifying it with the theory of world socialist praxis.... Cambodia was the victim of a cave-man regime," evoked in the bowels of revolutionary, world-altering renewal."

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia and chairman of the State Council of Cambodia, told what this has cost, about the tragedy which resulted from that evocation, in an article published in the magazine PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA (No. 8, 1982): "The catastrophe which our people experienced resulted in such devastation that it is difficult for people from other nations to imagine what we began with. A nation without cities, without monetary circulation, without any sort of personal property, without normal family ties. A nation which was one big concentration camp, where former schools, hospitals, theaters and religious temples had been turned into stables, warehouses, sites of mass torture and murder. The intelligentsia suffered enormously, and the engineers, teachers, doctors and other specialists were destroyed almost to a man. Cambodia was covered with graves: Even now, after considerable time has gone by, evidence of more and more crimes keeps cropping up. After such devastation, we understandably had to begin the work of rebuilding from scratch."

A. Prokhanov's hero also begins his count of the signs of restored life from zero. He persistently strives to find its growth not just in the ruins of plants and the fields of the agricultural cooperatives, overgrown with weeds, but also in the minds and souls of the people united "by the nation's faith in their resilience."

The plot in the film about Africa in battle, conceived by the hero of the novel "The Africanist," was also inspired by that same kind of faith. He did not want to embody a scattering of dissociated observations and impressions on the screen, but to trace the chain of interrelated events, whose rumbling and tremors were heard far beyond the borders of Africa. In Moscow, in the Vologda Village, in the Caucasus Mountain hut, in the Uzbek village. They affected the life of the entire world." Just as the entire world influences the life of the African nation breaking free from the clinging fetters of colonialism. The geologists from the

GDR, the Cuban veterinarian, oil-pipeline layers of various tribes and speaking various languages, drillers and construction workers are contributing to its intense, creative work. They bring to the novel its leading motif of international unity of people and international solidarity of peoples, with its cutting edge directed against the ideology of racism, the policy of apartheid. Interwoven with it is the second motif of the narrative--the rejection of political neutrality, whose philistine philosophy of not becoming involved turns into connivance with crimes against mankind, against the people's freedom and the nation's progress.

The novel "Then Comes the Wind" contains many things of cognitive value. The unfailing lens of its hero singles out numerous faces and figures, episodes and events, "extremely complex political and social conflicts," the sum total of which comprise the ordinary day of combat for the Sandinista Revolution. "Our revolution is not ours alone. It came in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. It is inspiring the revolution in Salvador. Here in Nicaragua, we are defending not just our revolution. And this is understood by the Gringo" (the Americans--V.O.)" exclaims Comandante Ramirez, one of the incidental characters. In that area of the planet where it was accomplished, however, "racked by earthquakes, floods and upheavals, yet another geological force--war" is active. "Standing there on the border river, he (Andrey Gorlov--V.O.) felt the trembling of the world beneath his footsteps.... The continent shuddered. The rumble ran along the ridges of the Cordillera and reached his feet, and that on which he stood was a part of the rumbling." The all-permeating rumble "of the very same story," the genetic memory of which makes it possible to link with an unbreakable thread "that hot city on the border with blockaded Leningrad, which took long-range shells on the roofs of its palaces and cathedrals, which buried its dead children, which sent hungry soldiers out to the barriers... operating with his camera, he continued the military series there at San Pedro del Norte: Small children gouge at the ice on the Neva with crowbars. A coffin glides by on a sledge. A frost-covered lamp post, and someone, his strength gone, sinks into the snow"....

In spite of all this, there is cause for criticism of these novels by A. Prokhanov--among other things, for the writer's marked tendency to repeat himself. It would perhaps not be worth pointing this out if it were only a matter of a few situations which occur in the subject matter of each novel (trips abroad, the interrogation of prisoners and so forth): The coincidence could have been prompted by the common nature of the material at the author's disposal. The repetition of constant motifs and favorite writing techniques is worse. The main heroes of the four novels are essentially variations on one and the same type, one and the same character. They are happy to be plunged "into the very center, the very crater of the revolution," into the depths of "its fire-spitting bowels" ("A Tree in the Center of Kabul"), are "at the very center, at the nucleus of the problems being examined," subject themselves to "scorching contact with reality" ("On the Islands A Hunter..."), seize "ideas and knowledge from scorching reality" ("The Africanist"), come "into contact with the earth, wresting from it bread, metal and fuel" ("Then Comes the Wind"). Far from their homes in Moscow, they recall the bustle of the capital, which can be debunked with no great difficulty, since it is perceived through the prism of a literary-like, semi-Bohemian medium.

The similarity of these retrospections is generally intensified by similar family conflicts, try as the writer might to diversify them, in the novels "A Tree in the Center of Kabul" and "The Africanist," as well as in the story "Admiral" [The Admiral],

which came out between the two novels. Andrey Gorlov, whose emotional attachments "developed and then fell apart according to the Aeroflot schedule," rewarding us with "yet another model of human relationships," stands somewhat apart, to be sure. In exactly what way, however? Not because of powerfully and profoundly experienced feeling, however, but with a modeled feeling, which makes it possible to derive from love "its constructive meaning, the geometry contained in it." A Freudian slip!

The stylistic and lexical blocks are a good match for such prefabricated subject blocks. "Flexible, mobile and adroit, he darted about with his camera /at the sparking, flashing edge/ (from this point on, the emphasis is mine/ V.O.), where a civilization, amazing in its awesome, world-gripping beauty was borne of fire and metal," we read in the novel "Then Comes the Wind." But there was something similar in the novel "The Africanist": "he experienced that meeting-point at the southern extremity of Africa as a meeting of /sparking edges/." And even earlier-- in the story "The Admiral": "And he, the commander, felt the /fiery edges/ of the new, emerging world."

Nor can we fail to be alerted by the low "threshold of pain," in the graphic expression coined by Yukhan Smull long ago, which, unfortunately, is sometimes found in A. Prokhanov's heroes. They are not to blame for this, however, but the writer, whose vocabulary and style do not always measure up to the drama of the pictures, scenes and episodes vividly described. "He was a reporter, a /unique subject/ for his photography appeared before him and his camera immediately went into action," the author says of Andrey Gorlov, when, immediately upon arriving in Managua, he witnessed a barbarian bombing of the airport. "Wreckage smoked on the concrete, the slabs blackened by the soot. The frame burned, smashed and bent and minus the fin and wings. Inside it, amidst the vile order of smoldering plastic lay the pilot, torn and grease-covered, thrust through the jagged metal...." Shudder! Be shaken by what you see! But this was not the case. "Gorlov clung tightly to his camera, carrying it and the /prize/ it held away from the fire, away from danger. The master intuitively knew that he had a /treasure/, and he wanted to remove the cassette as soon as possible, seal it and hide it where it would be protected, somewhere in an ironclad safe." The prize, the treasure was the verbal shell of insensitivity, when we recall the image of the "armless doll of the pilot, his crushed head surrounded by the components of the instrument panel," preserved in the negative.

Let us not list either the minuses in the fable or the flaws in the style as "minor details." When carried too far, they create dead weight, which encumbers the narrative, restricts its dramatic effect, diminishes the images of the heroes....

Viktor Stepanov's novel "Gromoverzhtsy" [The Thunderers] deals with global problems of the modern era, with ancient and recent events in world history, and it is with good reason referred to by contemporary critics as "a fighting novel." Its author is indeed /fighting/ against the militaristic madness of the intellect, which dreams of "star wars," of laser weapons on the moon, and is prepared even to direct nature's essence against life. The sad story of the "kamikaze dolphin" which the novel tells about is a figurative hypothesis, a symbolically intoned metaphor. Neither hypothetical nor metaphorical, however, is the real fact attested in the quoted epilogue of the narrative with reference to the West German magazine STERN. The

magazine has reported that at one of the centers of the U.S. Navy "dolphins and sea lions are undergoing special training. They are being taught to detect and deactivate mines and torpedoes. Methods for finding and destroying submarines and ships are also being developed."

The novel's action is submerged in "hydrospace," the ocean depths traversed by the submarines of Yuriy Bryantsev and Elwin Gray. Just as the sea "is drawn to the land in waves," however, the entire spirit of the novel is oriented toward the shore. It is not without purpose that one of the characters comments: "...a submarine gets its power not just from a nuclear reactor or missiles, but also from those spiritual... radio waves, which, throughout a cruise in the most distant latitudes, at the most awesome depths, link it with its native shore." This is the semantic key to the contrasting of the two heroes--naval officers and submarine commanders, which personify two sociopolitical and state systems, two ideologies, two frames of mind shaped by different historical experiences. On the one side are "practical steps to the realization of peace" proclaimed in Lenin's first decree at Smolnyy, the immortal glory of fathers left "to lie eternally in fraternal graves from Moscow to Berlin," the great scientific and noble, civil feat of Igor' Kurchatov, and the diligent watch guarding the Soviet borders. On the other side are the explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima, the spiritual drama of Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller's cruel triumph over him, and the refined search for more and more new means of mass destruction. But is there no way to achieve a dialogue, to search for an intelligent compromise, for mutually advantageous solutions? None at all. There is a remarkable scene, in which the writer brings together the heroes in the halls of Leningrad's Hermitage, before masterpieces which recall "a certain planet-wide kinship of people populating the great world art." It motivates both of them to recall the meeting of the victors on the Elbe on those days in May of 1945: No matter how dense become the dark clouds of war, it is within the power of people and of peoples to restrain the madness....

The artistic hypothetical element which invades V. Stepanov's novel as one of the literary devices is the leading direction of the quest for Vladimir Beekman. His political novel takes on the expressive features of the novel and lampoon, the polysemous, parabolic symbolism of which deliberately combines elements which would appear to be uncombinable--the fantastic and grotesque with the parodied commonplace. "Nochnyye letchiki" [The Night Pilots], with its phantasmagoria of the last bomber of World War II, still taking off into the night sky with the last bomb on board, is such a novel. The inertia of mechanical, unreasoning thought, fanaticism which turns man into a machine-like weapon of destruction, the cult of unquestioning obedience and blind execution, the philistine mentality of unthinking, unseeing existence--a general portrait of both the third Reich and of today's revanchism, which has emerged from its ruins, appears through all these elements of satirical condemnation. Social satire, the ironic grotesque and the parodical farce produce a unique alloy of imagery in the novel "God Osla" [The Year of the Ass]. Through the outer comic layer of the narrative emerge troubling, alarming thoughts about the all-consuming profanation of politics, culture and morals, which is inevitably produced by the unrestrained Bacchanalia of consumption in a society living according to the antihumane laws of bourgeois alienation. With his novel, a lampoon in form and a warning in the orientation of the author's thinking, he forewarns us about its devastating consequences for the fate of the world, social progress and mankind. Cautioning and warning--this mission too is taken on

by the political novel, creating with the great diversity of its artistic possibilities "a history of the contemporary era" directing in the course of its turbulent progression.

A broad stratum of modern prose is made up of the political novel, which could be called the novel of lessons. The permanent lessons of the Soviet State's peace-loving foreign policy, its tireless struggle to systematically incorporate the Leninist concepts of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbor relations, and to thoroughly and resolutely counteract imperialist reaction and its threat to peace and the security of peoples.

The action in such a novel of lessons may be separated from us by several decades of time, but contemporaneity invariably permeates its ideas and images, imbues its ideological and moral problems and intensifies its political and ideological enunciation many times over. Turkmen writer Klych Kuliyeu's trilogy "Posol emira" [The Emir's Ambassador], for example, was conceived prior to the revolution in Afghanistan in April 1978, but the last year of events in the world has unquestionably had the effect of intensifying the plot, expanding its epic scale and introducing new motifs and accents. As a result, the story of Amanullah Khan's first diplomatic mission and the meetings of the Afghan ambassadors with V.I. Lenin, which were among the sources of the good-neighbor relations and friendly ties between Afghanistan and the young Soviet Republic, was an extremely important landmark in the advance of time.

The historical perspective for the future outlined by our contemporary era is highly present in Savva Dangulov's novels "Zautrenya v Rapallo" [A Morning At Rapallo] and "Gosudareva pochta" [The Sovereign's Mail].

N. Fedorenko once referred to "Diplomaty" [The Diplomats] and "Kuznetskiy most" [Kuznetskiy Bridge] as a "novel in motion" in an article about the writer's previous books. Using them to trace the progression of the political novel, oriented toward turning points in human history, whether it be the first Soviet diplomatic steps taken after the victory of Great October or the Soviet struggle for an anti-Hitlerite coalition during the Great Patriotic War, the critic especially stressed the fact that S. Dangulov "has a solid knowledge of what he writes about. To know the time, the era and events is to possess historical, sociological and philosophical knowledge."

The new novels are also distinguished by a breadth of solidly based knowledge. Knowledge of the first American diplomatic "mission of Bullitt," who arrived in Moscow in March of 1919, and of the meetings of William Bullitt and journalist Lincoln Steffens with V.I. Lenin ("The Sovereign's Mail"). A knowledge of the 1922 Genoa Conference during which the Soviet delegation, led by People's Commissar Chicherin, signed the Rapallo Treaty with Germany, thereby breaking up the united front of imperialist states which had declared an economic and political blockade against Soviet Russia ("The Morning in Rapallo"). The two events are linked by deep internal ties. Had the USA and the Entente powers not placed their stakes on Kolchak and shelved the results of Bullitt's mission, the Leninist concepts of peaceful coexistence could have been given practical implementation long before "the Soviet delegate's first speech" at Genoa was heard "far beyond the borders of the Soviet Republic." Neither American president Wilson nor the West German leaders had the farsightedness or prudence for this. Despite them, however, history is treading the road to a diplomacy of talks and not guns. "The new diplomacy

will accomplish nothing serious without friends.... It is a great gift to find a friend, an even greater gift to preserve it..." Lenin proclaims in the novel "The Sovereign's Mail." And as confirmation of his historical correctness, the writer includes in the circle of characters Eduardo Errio, Ataturk and Sun Yat-sen, and cites the remarkable words of the latter, who saw in Soviet diplomacy "a memorable lesson in political realism." This realism defined the strategy and tactics of the Soviet delegation in Genoa, where it confirmed with its words and deeds "the omnipotence of the formula, which opened eyes to relations among nations. Reliance on this formula provided the world with the possibility of predicting a new course in international affairs, which was destined to go down in history as the policy of coexistence."

Returning to N. Fedorenko's article, let us discuss the critic's position that the political novel which reproduces actual events is not just documentary in general, but /"artistically/ documentary, and the characters created must possess a graphic persuasiveness." Along with fictitious characters who, it seems to us, are not always successfully depicted and are somewhat one-dimensional, S. Dangulov's novels are densely populated with historically authentic heroes, which created, under V.I. Lenin's guidance, Soviet diplomacy as a new type of revolutionary diplomacy: Chicherin, Krasin, Litvinov, Vorovskiy, Rudzutak and Karakhan. Their individual expressiveness is the fruitful creative achievement of the writer, who transferred the documentally verified truth of the fact to the artistic truth of the character.

This is applicable, in its own way, to Daniil Kraminov's novels "Sumerki v polden'" [Twilight at Noon] and especially "Na krayu nochi" [At the Edge of Night], the heroes of which are placed into the thick of prewar Europe's political life. They steadfastly and consistently implement the Soviet State's peace initiatives aimed at preventing the Hitlerite aggression. Munich of 1938 and Fulton of 1946, the thread of which stretches on to Reagan's present foreign policy course, are linked with a journalistically depicted tie of succession. By equating the lessons of history with our contemporary era in this manner, the writer is calling upon people to think about the ruinous consequences of political nearsightedness and Philistine complacency. Indeed, future atomic ashes "are possible, if it is possible to forget the ashes of the last war" (Ye. Yevtushenko, "Mama i neytronnaya bomba" [Mama and the Neutron Bomb])....

The historical lessons gained from the routing of fascism are given broad epic scope in the novels of Aleksandr Chakovskiy. Speaking of "Blokada" [The Blockade] and "Pobeda" [The Victory], M. Sinel'nikov correctly noted that, different as the two works are "with respect to the nature of the events, the scope of the action and the principles underlying the novels' organization," they "sprouted from the same soil and to a large extent have a common root system." This was said prior to publication of the third novel, "Neokonchenny portret" [The Unfinished Portrait], but it also fully applies to the latter.

Let us refer to facts. When A. Chakovskiy was working on "The Blockade," he published the article "What Is To Be Done Now?". It was addressed to Harrison Salisbury and contains a polemical reference to his book--a strange phenomenon, in which "scrupulously selected facts are forcibly fitted into Procrustes' Bed of the author's concept: ...blame anyone at all for the tribulations which fell to the lot of the Leningraders," but not Hitler or German fascism. The writer's "Open Letter" to Carter was published at the very height of the work on "The Victory."



A. Chakovskiy countered the American president's ambitious appeals for establishing the USA's leading role in the world with the firm conviction, reinforced, among other things, by a reference to the failure of the infamous "Truman Doctrine": "when the fate of hundreds of millions of people, the fate of mankind is involved, the only behavior which is acceptable is decisions which insure peace, equality and mutual respect among states and peoples, in fact and not just in words."

Something more than related subject matter is to be seen in such exchanges in the writer's journalism and prose. Let us speak of unity of historical conception, which A. Chakovskiy systematically develops in his creative work as a journalist and prose-writer, of the goal-orientation of the polemics in which he constantly engages with the bourgeois falsifiers of the past. This is why his novels are of an unconcealed polemic nature and openly tendentious in defending, publicizing and confirming the indisputable facts of history.

These facts are not presented ready-made. In the novel "The Victory," they are fought for, so to speak, not in the figurative, but in the direct, literal sense of the word: The Potsdam Conference is depicted as a field of intense fighting over the postwar structure of the world, at a time when the threat of nuclear blackmail already hung over it. The search for the truth--this is the meaning of the novel "The Unfinished Portrait," in which the image of Roosevelt is depicted in a contradictory struggle of a strong will, a clear mind and those social, political and ideological prejudices which controlled him as a spokesman and defender of its interests. "These interests did not entirely suppress the voice of conscience," however. This is why the "tangle of serpents" begins "to stir in the soul of the president" so frequently and causes the agonizing inner torment like that which overcomes him when he sends the last letter to Stalin. Far from sympathizing "with the social structure of the new Russia, a structure about which he had an extremely vague concept," Roosevelt "stroved to understand it, stroved to understand the Russian people."

This was a limited understanding, of course, typical of a political figure who had a reputation more as a conservative than as a liberal, but a conservative who had not lost his common sense and was capable of considering the actual situation in the nation and in the world." Everything lies in that "but." "Imminent pragmatist," "great master of compromise," "intelligent, resolute, pragmatic thinking man who always knew what he wanted"--such assessments by the author of the novel's real hero do not seem degrading at all. They are synonymous with the political perspicacity which motivated Roosevelt in his concern for the postwar future to perceive peaceful relations between the USA and the USSR as a historical necessity. "Yes, he, Roosevelt, did not share the new Russia's political views. But did there have to be an abyss teeming with poisonous snakes running between spiritual fraternity and loyal, mutually advantageous relations?... The joint victory over the enemy could now become the basis for such mutually advantageous relations." And so, the truth which Roosevelt wanted to but did not succeed in proclaiming in the traditional Jeffersonian speech matured gradually, in self-conflict, portrayed with the technique of an inner monologue (this monologue is sometimes too blatantly journalistic, to be sure, and encumbered with information from the author): "...Today, we are facing the indisputable fact that if civilization is destined to survive, we must develop the science of human relations--the capacity of all people to co-exist and cooperate on the same planet...." Beyond the framework of the novel, however, history has preserved lines from Roosevelt's last message to Congress,

which are consonant with these words: "We must not permit disagreements to divide us or to conceal our more important general and long-term interests from us." We see that one can be the president of the USA and not gain a reputation as a militant, rabid enemy of the Soviet Union. One may not accept its system, but still be guided by the principle of mutual trust in state policy toward it. This is how E. Genri, the first to review "The Unfinished Portrait," read the novel and correlated the logic underlying the plot in the narrative to the logic of world history itself.

It does not make a path for itself spontaneously. Politics is created by people, and only with their coordinated action is it possible to eliminate war from the life of mankind. This is why the political novel of lessons has rightly been called a novel which resoundingly affirms in the mind of our reader the great sense of patriotic pride in those superefforts with which our nation has steadfastly followed the Leninist course of peace for soon to be 7 decades.

The contemporary antifascist novel is closely related to the political novel of lessons. Among these, we should single out Vitaliy Semin's novels "Nagrudnyy znak 'OST'" [The Badge 'OST'] and "Plotina" [The Dam], Irina Guro's "Pesochnyye chasy" [The Hourglass] and "I mera v ruke yevo..." [And the Measure is in His Hand...], Lev Slavin's "Ardenskiye strasti" [Ardennes Passions], and to some degree, Yuriy Slepukhin's "Yuzhnyy krest" [The Southern Cross]. In the first case, we have "ordinary fascism" viewed autobiographically through the tragic prism of an "Arbeitslager." In the second instance, we see the heroic spirit and the tragedy of the antifascist underground in Germany prior to and during the war. In the third case, we have the collapse (thanks to the USSR's assistance as an ally) of the Hitlerite offensive in the Ardennes in December 1944-January 1945, an objective panorama of events and destinies, which has presently assumed the scope of an offensive ideological dispute with the falsifications of World War II. The fictitious action of the fourth novel unfolds in South America at the end of the 50's but, judging from everything, is based on certain real situations involving risky intrigue: the search for and capture of a Hitlerite war criminal. The Gustav Ditmar depicted in the novel is not Klaus Barbier, of course, but this illustrates the fact that life and reality are frequently not stingy with plots like those perceived with an extension of the book....

Just what links these works, which differ with respect to subject matter and even with respect to the artistic quality of its representation? A common attempt by the writers to analytically get to the roots of that misanthropy borne by fascism, to reveal its philosophy and ideology, its psychology and ethics. It does not need to be demonstrated that the antifascist subject has been relegated to history either in our Soviet literature or in the creative works of progressive artists in the West. It is treated as an urgent issue of today, and we are reminded of its unweakened social and political articulation by daily newspaper reports on the bloody crimes of dictatorial regimes in South America, revanchist outrages in the FRG and acts of provocation by neofascists in Italy. "It is not a matter, of course," as demonstrated in Tsetsiliy Kiny's "Ital'yanskiye mozaikakh" [Italian Mosaics], "of whether their people wear black shirts or stylish double-breasted jackets, whether they pin on badges with Mussolini's picture or whether they sing the old songs at their gatherings.... Something else is important--that there are forces interested in their social preservation, that they have international ties." And "there are semilegal organizations, paramilitary groups and special training camps, where young fascists are instructed by former military men--by parachutists with absolutely specific views, among others."

Fascism is alive--whether it be the unconcealed Chilean form or the disguised European versions--and the ideological legacy of Hitlerism continues to be one of its murky sources. This makes it all the more important for the contemporary writer to reveal the nature of fascist misanthropy, to reconstruct its true image. This is accomplished by Ales' Adamovich in the story "Karateli" [The Avengers]. Its basis--once again documentary--takes on a different ideological-artistic quality than that found in the book "Ya iz ognennoy derevni..." [I am From the Fiery Village] or in "Blokadnaya kniga" [The Blockade Book]. It innovatively emerges in the systematic crossbreeding of in-depth psychological analysis and broad philosophical generalizations. Following in the footsteps of war criminal Paul Oscar Dirlevanger, the writer persistently attempts to trace the direct linkage between the appeals of fascism's ringleaders and ideologists for the destruction of peoples and the practical implementation of their monstrous program by "ordinary" agents.

Are we correct in regarding this antifascist story as political, however? Are we not thereby contradicting the thesis stated about the open social, ideological and world-outlook struggle between diametrically opposed social forces as one of the essential criteria for defining the genre of political prose? Where is this struggle in the story, which investigates the mentality of force? It is there. And it is created by the writer's firm and uncompromising ideological stance, which can rightly be called a stance of militant humanism....

In conclusion, let us look at the poetics of the political novel, which, like the typology of content, also deserves special-problem generalizations and focused analysis, since its specific nature frequently gives rise to controversial explanations and is interpreted in different ways by both writers and critics. Even to the point of its deliberate or unintentional neglect, which, a fact brought out in Yu. Semenov's dialogue and discussion with L. Anninskiy: "Emotions interfere with analysis. The political novel does not need to harp on feelings; it should be plain-speaking, and the facts should speak for it."

Accepting this, the writer enters into conflict with his own urgings for intensive work in creative fantasy, which provides unlimited scope for conjecture and invention. This is what he did, after all, when he wrote the series of novels about Isayev-Shtirlits, which he called political chronicles and linked together with the common title: "Al'ternativa" [The Alternative]. Let us not be hasty in drawing the conclusion that Yu. Semenov the practical person refutes the existence of Yu. Semenov the theoretician. It does not always do so, unfortunately.

A. Krivitskiy makes the exaggerated statement in the epilogue to the novel "Semnadtsat' mgnoveniy vesny" [Seventeen Moments of Spring] (Moscow, IZVESTIYA, 1984): "The precise and pointed dialogue is frequently truly similar to skillful swordfighting." If we are to liken a pen to a sword, this is only valid when it is aimed at a target. Unfortunately, this was not always the case either in previous novels in the "The Alternative" series--a fact which, as I recall, the critics have pointed out to the author more than once--or in the final novel, "Prikazano vyzhit'" [Ordered to Survive]. Yu. Semenov verbal fabric is actually sometimes so plain it appears to have been hastily woven: "...it appears to be random, but is in fact one of the ever present constants in the development"; "functionaries of the Reich" are moving "toward a kind of fantastic orgy of internal betrayal," "he decided to contrive a way and began an illegal practice as

defender of the law," "he is obsessed with the gentlemen's code," "anesthetizing... the nervous vigilance," "I am not your counselor in matters of cunning serpentry"....

The novel "Press-tsentr" [The Press Center], which, as indicated by the subheading, describes "an anatomy of a political crime," has a sharply pointed subject and is dynamic and dramatic. Judging from the fact that journalist and writer Dmitriy Stepanov, with whom we are familiar from the story "On ubil menya pod Luang-Prabang" [He Killed Me At Luan-Prabang] written by Yu. Semenov long ago, is once again present in this novel, he is preparing a new series of works with a common main hero. It would therefore seem all the more important, as the author thinks about the future continuation of the series, to warn him against repeating the defects. At least in Dmitriy Stepanov, who has his own view of writing and his own pretensions to criticism: "...The most important thing is whether you are being read; the rest is up to the Evil One; ...a work is ultimately evaluated not by the critic, but by time, which is determined by the reader." Do we need to explain that readers, like writers, differ and that time manifests itself through them differently? The hero of the novel may not understand this in his polemic fervor, but the novelist was clearly in too much of a hurry to confirm to the world his agreement (see Yu. Idashkin's interview of Yu. Semenov in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, 31 August 1984).

Interesting as the interlacings of highly ramiform intrigues in the novel "The Press Center" may be, in general the narrative gives the impression of inadequate development and is encumbered by a large number of extraordinary events of life and simply of amusing incidents, which reduce the dramatic effect and weaken its political acuity. With respect to vocabulary, that extremely systematic seismograph of artistic quality, it too frequently gives away its clerkly or slang origins. Reluctantly, we accept the fact that "the police are compromised" and that one of the characters "had made a deal with an old prostitute wearing high patent-leather boots." But "a fat tart with lascivious eyes like those of a cat in March"?! But "a pop-eyed sow," who "stared at everyone with her pale blue saucers"! What sort of emotional restraint is this? It is utterly uncontrolled and elemental....

Discussing the content and the poetics of the political novel, Yu. Andreyev considered it essential to stress "the mandatory novelistic nature of the genre." Extending the critic's thoughts, we would add that every time, it manifests itself in its own way, in accordance with the writer's plan and the substance of the narration. It also has an internal stability, however, which gives it the strength to resist non-novelist incursions. Chronicled reporting, for example, which fills the narrational space with a flood of purely informational reports on events and their participants.

The permissible information limit, I believe, was exceeded in Mikhail Domogatskikh's "Yuzhneye reki Benkhaya" [South of Ben Hai River], for example. This is a detailed chronicle of the Vietnam War, beginning with the USA's act of provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 and ending with the fall of Saigon in April 1975. The motley kaleidoscope of events and destinies contains many expressive scenes involving figures retained in memory. The author has assimilated and put into action an enormous amount of documentary material, which had made it possible to reliably depict the course of the war and show the heroism demonstrated by the Vietnamese people. The pictures exposing the criminal acts of the American aggressors and the cynicism of the Washington politicians and their Saigon puppets are convincing. The pictures of the devastated land, scorched by napalm and

poisoned with toxic chemicals--the trail of punitive forces left in Vietnam yesterday and outlined in Salvador today. Despite all of this, however, the oversaturation of the narration with information is such that there is frequently no space left for psychological substantiation of the action, if we understand it as an epic unity of characters and circumstances....

Some people believe that because of the political novel's tendency toward acute conflicts, the entertaining detective intrigue is almost as inherent a quality in it as is the developed documentary or clearly defined journalistic principle. If we are to agree with this, it is only with substantial reservations. We could see that most of the examples of the political novel we have considered have gotten by without detective contrivances. On the other hand, a passion for them has resulted in perceptible detriment to the social-analytical quality of Yevgeniy Veltistov's novel "Noktyurn pustoty" [Nocturn of Emptiness] (MOSKVA, Nos. 4 and 5, 1982).

Much can be learned from this example, especially for works written in the vein of the "political detective" and with pretensions, as the increasingly fashionable genre trend transparently hints, if not of replacing the political novel, at least of being a sort of parallel to it. The pretensions are baseless, as a rule, and this prompts us not only to resolutely separate "political detectives" from the political novel, but also to make stringent demands of their artistic quality.

Do Leonid Mlechin's "The Chrysanthemum has not yet blossomed" and "Obstoyatel'stva smerti gospodina N" [The Circumstances Surrounding The Death of Mister 'N'] measure up to these demands? They are about the crimes of big business, acts of provocation by secret services, the venality of the police and the press, terrorism and gangsterism, the black market trade in narcotics and other plagues of the capitalist world. A noble hero, a champion of justice, exposes all of this. There are perceptible features of a superman in his image and his actions. This is how he behaves, for example, in the story "The Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Mr. 'N'," published in seven issues of OGONEK and which includes seven murders and innumerable fights. Oldmont, the good guy, faces his enemy Tirayut man to man. "The American sent him crashing to the floor with a blow from both feet, scissors-fashion. Tirayut stretched out full-length on the floor, but immediately arose. Oldmont also sprang forward. They stood there facing one another, waiting. Tirayut was agile and cunning. His character had been tempered in constant fights with rivals, in which reaction speed determined who of the two would remain alive. Shaken by Oldmont's staunchness, however, Tirayut lost his composure. This determined the outcome, his defeat. In his haste to finish off the American, he attacked first. Oldmont dodged to the right, and Tirayut's blow fell on thin air, and he drove the edge of his left hand against the back of the Thai's neck in a well-polished move"....

A participant in the 8th All-Union Conference of Young Writers, L. Mlechin shared some interesting impressions of the seminar of journalists and essayists. He reasoned that the Leninist understanding of the journalist's permanent job of writing the history of the contemporary era makes "special demands" of the writer: "add to literary talent, public-mindedness and party temperament, a thorough knowledge of the subject and a desire not just to address, but to resolve the problem about which he writes." These words carry great responsibility. And it is good that the young prose-writer applies them to himself as a program for his own creative development. This ensures a realization of the fact that the history of

the contemporary era is a serious concept, that it has nothing to do with entertaining adventures and intrigues, but involves the social significance of conflicts, the grasping of which does not necessarily require a glib style, but absolutely requires keenness of style. I would like to caution the author about just that, the temptation to write in a glib manner. His new story "Posledniy dovod" [The Final Conclusion] gives reason for this.

It is no exaggeration to say that it was not an easy task to count the number of murders occurring in it (I tried, but I lost count). And the fact that the description of each murder is perceptibly lacking in both moderation and taste is eloquently demonstrated by a scene in a Washington hotel, which I can only reproduce by excerpting a long passage. How else can I demonstrate the author's lack of demandingness with respect to the written word?

...A certain Winters comes into possession of video cassettes showing "nationally known figures participating in one of the vilest of parties." Publication of the evidence compromising the highly placed sinners would mean "political death" for all of them. Winters begins his blackmailing with Senator Arthur Plimmer. The latter decides to get rid of the blackmailer. The operation is carried out by three agents of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

Winters stopped worrying completely. He had ended his involvement with drugs a year before and had nothing to fear in that respect. He watched indifferently as the agents turned his suitcases and an athletic bag inside out. The youngest of the three, who had a red mustache, found the package brought by Josie, transferred all of the video cassettes from it to his own briefcase and then removed a cassette from the video tape recorder.

"Wait a minute!" Winters said, beginning to be concerned. "Why do you need the cassettes? I don't keep narcotics in them."

No one paid any attention to what he said. The irate Winters touched the agent, standing with his back to him, on the shoulder and was sent crashing to the floor with a blow to the jaw: The agent with the red mustache was not one to stand on ceremony. Winters got up with difficulty and hobbled to the bathroom. He spat out a tooth, turned on the cold water and held his head under it. The noise of the running water prevented his hearing what was happening in the other room.

The senior agent was startled to see the door to the room open and a youthful-looking but completely gray-headed man appear on the threshold. He instantly slammed the door behind him and threw himself onto the agent standing closest to him. He struck the agent on the head with a hand wearing a massive black glove. The blow was a powerful one, and the agent sank to the rug. The other two were so astounded that they lost several precious seconds. They were standing at the other end of the room, near a window, and did not make any attempt to defend themselves until the attacker was upon them. One of the agents thrust his hand beneath his jacket, hoping to reach his shoulder holster. The gray-headed man thrust out his gloved right hand. There was a

clicking sound, and the agent slid softly to the floor. The red-mustached agent was quicker than his colleagues. He thrust aside his attacker with a blow of the hand and grabbed the revolver.

The gray-headed man thrust out his hand, and the last of the agents fell to the floor without having fired. In the twinkling of an eye the video cassettes disappeared into the truly bottomless pockets of the gray-headed one's cloth jacket. At that moment Winters appeared from the bathroom, holding a towel in his hands. Glancing at him, the gray-headed man approached one of the agents, took a revolver from the latter's shoulder holster and put two shots into Winters. The close-range shots threw Winters against the wall and two spots of blood spread over his light-blue shirt"....

Our objections can be backed up with references to well-known cases of political murder, the investigation of which have revealed intrigues surpassing those of even the most unbridled fantasy. Genrikh Borovik tells about one of them in the story "Istoriya odnogo ubiystva" [The Story of a Murder], which is about Martin Luther King. It describes the true course of the tragic events. The subject matter provided by them, however, proved to be large enough to cover a social investigation of political activity in the USA, the American way of life and the conditions which give rise to such crimes....

We can see that there are imitations of the political novel. But let us keep them separate by bearing in mind the fact that "ideas become a force," only "when they capture the minds of the masses."<sup>1</sup> They do so more completely and thoroughly if, when they become the possession of art, they are given worthy artistic embodiment in its graphic tongue. This indisputable conclusion stems from Lenin's words, which we have the right to use also as a test of the experience of the present-day political novel.

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<sup>1</sup>V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 34, p 332.

NATIONAL

STALIN HERO OF NEW WAR NOVEL

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in Russian No 5, 1985 carries on pages 31-127 and 161-189 a 30,000-word first part of a serial novel "Moscow, 1941" (Moskva, 4ly) by Ivan Stadnyuk. As the title suggests, the subject of Stadnyuk's book is the German invasion of the Soviet Union and the historic Battle of Moscow. The hero of the "roman" is Joseph Stalin and the subject is the battle of Moscow and its defense. The book begins with the fall of Smolensk to German forces and their advance on Moscow. It relates Stalin's plan for the defense of Moscow against German air strikes. Realizing that from the beginning of World War II not a single European capital withstood German bombardment, Stalin proceeds to take action to save the Soviet capital from similar destruction. In his role as chairman of the State Defense Committee and Supreme Commander of the Red Army, many scenes in the book show him interacting with other SDC members, Politburo members, and General Staff military personnel. Figures like Molotov, Zhukov, Shakhurin, Voroshilov, Kalinin and others appear with Stalin at the Kremlin and the Supreme Command Headquarters. In the book Marshal Zhukov, chief of the General Staff, disagrees with Stalin, but views him with respect: "for conducting himself professionally in operational arts and military strategy." (p 56) He does not fear Stalin. After the fall of Smolensk, he does not take all the blame on himself. "After all," he thinks to himself, "they were both responsible for the armed forces and that the anger directed at him, Zhukov, and the reproach concerns Stalin also." (57) A more rounded portrait of Stalin emerges from these scenes, not just a flat characterization of a skilled politician: he has a good "high" voice; he has a good sense of humor and speaks with a noticeable Georgian accent; he cares for his son; he is firm and demanding with his generals and politicians, but also displays compassion and understanding. A sample of his firm but understanding nature occurs in a scene set at the Kremlin depicting a meeting with Zhukov and other members of the General Staff. Stalin called the meeting of the generals so that they could explain how Smolensk fell into German hands. Anticipating Zhukov's apprehension of this confrontation, Stalin addresses them all with these words: "Stalin criticizes Zhukov, and Zhukov criticizes the army and battle commanders, and this helps. But it is not necessary to criticize Zhukov and the commanders to such a degree that it restrains their actions and things are made even worse..." Stadnyuk's "Moscow, 1941" is a serialized book and will continue in the next issue of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA.

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REGIONAL

MORE PUBLICITY ON PARTY, STATE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS NEEDED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 85 p 2

[Interview with A.K. Zhakupov, first secretary of the Dzhambul Oblast Party Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent in Dzhambul G. Dil'dyayev: "The Potential of Publicity" under the rubric: "Party Life: Style and Methods of Work;" date not specified]

[Excerpts] From now on it will be imperative to expand publicity in the work of party, state and social organizations, as was stressed at the March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The more informed people are, the more consciously they operate and the more actively they support the party, its plans and its program goals.

An interview with First Secretary of the Dzhambul Oblast Party Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party A.K. Zhakupov by a special correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA focused on how to strive for consistency in maintaining the principle of publicity and make fuller use of its potential.

[Question] Anuar Kamzinovich, let's begin our conversation with this. Not long ago you prepared a report which you presented at the current plenum of the obkom, and in which you discussed the tasks of improving work with personnel. Widespread publicity is especially important in personnel evaluation, selection and promotion--it permits us to eliminate errors. You talked about this and cited examples. The plenum decree reflects this thought.

[Answer] Yes, I would be correct in saying that in the matter of employee promotion we have begun to consider the opinion of party organizations and work collectives more extensively. The significance of reviews, recommendations and references has grown. References are discussed at party and buro meetings.

How else would it be done? A person can have the full set of necessary merits as far as the data from a questionnaire are concerned. So you promote him in his duties without further consideration. And why do errors occur? Because the paperwork was relied on but the people weren't consulted; the question of the employees' assignment was decided within a narrow framework.

We talked self-critically and in terms of principle about the errors in personnel selection and placement, and specifically named those who did not live up to our confidence, who were unexacting and guilty of haste in the promotion of employees to management positions. This was criticized by the agricultural and food-industry divisions of the obkom and a number of party raykoms.

When you analyze the reasons behind this "winnowing" you come to the conclusion that these people clearly were not fully studied, but were promoted once again on the basis of a favorable form.

Public opinion is a dependable x-ray that will always reveal people's deficiencies if they exist. We are going to utilize this "x-ray" more widely. We will scrutinize the methods of discussing personnel frankly and arranging competitions to fill positions.

We are now drawing up for the 12th Five-Year Plan a long-range plan for work with personnel. The plan provides in particular that the opinion of a party meeting concerning each employee up for promotion will be made available. We will teach ourselves and others to use more effectively the kind of personnel policy instrument that publicity is.

[Question] In the editor's mail we see letters in which communists write that executives of enterprises are often penalized directly in raykom or gorkom meetings, but this is not discussed in party organizations. There have been such letters from Dzhabul Oblast as well. The motives of party committees who conceal the faults of communist executives are familiar: they don't want to undermine their authority.

[Answer] A false concern about authority. It leads to no good. And there are many examples of it. At the beginning of this year at an obkom buro meeting we discussed the question of increasing the role of primary party organizations in considering the failings of communist executives. A check preceding the discussion of this problem revealed that we are far from ridding ourselves of this worthless practice in all places.

If a negative fact has not been made public, then it has not been evaluated in terms of principle and its possibility of being repeated has not been eliminated.

[Question] You talk with some communists and come to the unexpected conclusion that not everyone is informed about how local party organs are occupied and how they decide problems that come to a head. Sometimes people know more about the work of the central organs than they do about the work of their own party buro or raykom. What could you say in this regard?

[Answer] As a matter of fact there is a whole system for informing the population about how party committees work and what they work on. Here is an example, as they say, right off the top. The report from the plenum we were already

talking about was published in the oblast newspapers. And you can see for yourself--the materials were published without any desire to edit them or smooth out the rough edges. From the rather detailed reports published in our newspapers, it is quite clear that the gorkom is succeeding, and it is clear what we have to keep working on. And people are already used to such information.

Before us lies the reporting and election campaign; on its eve party committees report on their activities for the period since the primary party organizations conference. The rayon and city committees have already reported. The informational report of the obkom is on my desk and we are continuing to work on it. When we finish, all the obkom members and candidate members and all the members of the review committee will come to meetings of the primary party organizations and report on the work of the oblast committee.

We are trying to heighten the significance of 1-day political sessions and see to it that they are rich sources of information. Prior to regular political days we instruct our political speakers and arm them with information, facts and figures so they can inform people about the broadest range of topics and answer questions.

You understand, I've just been talking about the practical work of the obkom; the raykoms and gorkoms, all the oblast party committees, operate in a like manner. But you're right--we have to raise the people's level of knowledge-ability. A frank conversation, without concealing anything, without wanting to dramatize shortcomings or paint over reality, is the guarantee of a healthy moral political climate in work collectives.

Of course it would be better not to make mistakes, but the one who doesn't make mistakes is the one who doesn't do anything. And if a mistake has occurred and a negative fact has been concealed, that should not be covered up. Omissions and concealment generate rumors and false interpretations. Just as everything that is pernicious, rotten and sickly fears the sunlight, so is all type of gossip stifled by extensive publicity.

Sometimes you point out to an employee not that he is consciously concealing something but that he is ignoring the significance of publicity, is not relying on the power of collective motivation and is not sharing his ideas with others or asking their advice.

[Question] Anuar Kamzinovich, I saw your resolution--to investigate, to take measures, to report--right in the clippings from the oblast newspapers. The very same day all "interested parties" find out about your mission. And they react. I've been told that such concern is shown regularly regarding the effectiveness of the obkom organ's printed word.

[Answer] How could it be otherwise? You are a newspaperman--there is no reason to try and convince you of the importance of the mass media in spreading publicity and forming public opinion. You cannot overestimate the power of the printed word in this.

People speak and write more often about good enterprises, probably because it is more pleasant to speak and write about them. Along with the enterprises that are stable in their operations, and we have many of them, there are as well the ones that are chronic laggards, ones that fail in their projects from month to month. Our goal is not to have any laggards. For this we have to use our resources fully. F. Stokich wrote about them in his letter published in the pages of the oblast newspaper ZNAMYA TRUDA; the letter called for an end to the conciliatory position of those who are accustomed to lagging behind. The publication stirred people up, especially those who work in lagging collectives.

[Question] We can't overestimate the role of publicity in implementing the principle of social justice, either...

[Answer] At one time the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee subjected the oblast party committee to impartial criticism for violations in assigning apartments, for overindulgences and indiscretions committed by certain city executives from Dzhambul and other oblast cities. Appropriate conclusions were drawn from this criticism and the offenders were punished. Their names were made public and the illegally acquired living accommodations were taken back. Measures were taken so that such things would not be tolerated in the future. Publicity guarantees justice.

The party indicates that we should, in every way, support, encourage and elevate those who show in practice an honest and conscientious attitude toward fulfilling their social duty.

Today the party has put forward an agenda requiring intensification of the economy, a sharp increase in labor productivity and strengthening order and discipline. These tasks will not be fulfilled without mobilizing the workers' initiative. And this can be achieved only with the help of the most extensive publicity in work situations.

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REGIONAL

AZSSR: BAGIROV SPEECH COMMEMORATING WAR'S END

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 8 May 85 pp 1,2,3

[Speech by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K. M. Bagirov on 7 May 1985 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory in World War II: "The Deed Shall Not Fade Through the Ages". Grand Meeting in Baku Devoted to 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory"]

[Excerpts] The immortal feat accomplished by the Soviet people who, under the guidance of the Communist Party, defeated Hitler's invaders during the Great Patriotic War and saved the world from fascism, will live forever in the grateful memory of humankind, and shall go undimmed through the ages. In this battle, which was unprecedented in its scope, for the freedom and independence of the Soviet Motherland, and for a bright future, the loyalty of our people to the Socialist Motherland, to the Leninist Banner and to the ideals of communism triumphed, as did the inviolable friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR. The triumphal meeting of representatives of Azerbaijan's capital and the troops of the Baku Garrison was dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory, a holiday which is counted among those most dear to the Soviet people. The meeting was held in the festively decorated Palace imeni V. I. Lenin.

The veterans of the past war, now gray with age, gathered in the hall. These are they who forged the victory on the war's battle fronts and on the home front. With them assembled the heirs of their military and labor glory: representatives of party, soviet, labor union and Komsomol agencies, labor collectives, and the soldiers of the Baku Garrison.

In the presidium are Comrades K. M. Bagirov, G. A. Gasanov, A. S. Denisov, S. Ch. Kasumova, V. N. Konovalov, I. A. Mamedov, F. E. Musayev, G. N. Seidov, S. B. Tatliyev, K. A. Khalilov, Z. M. Yusif-Zade, D. M. Muslim-Zade, L. Kh. Rasulova and G. Sh. Efendiyev; Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen D. M. Asanov, F. G. Akhmedov, A. D. Lemberanskiy, M. S. Mamédov and A. N. Mutalibov; generals and admirals, elder communists, heroes of war and labor, winners of the Labor Shift Memorial, and scientific and cultural figures.

The meeting was opened by F. Ye. Musayev, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee is elected to the membership of the presidium of honor with tremendous enthusiasm.

The floor was turned over to Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K. M. Bagirov.

### Speech by Comrade K. M. Bagirov

Dear comrades!

Four decades ago, an outstanding event was inscribed into world history by the steel will, the selfless courage and the tremendous strength of the Soviet people. And the gun salute which split the sky over red-starred Moscow and over our exhausted, blood-soaked land announced the glorious victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic war to the mainlands and to the continents. (Stormy applause).

Allow me, dear comrades, in the name of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, to warmly and heartily welcome you, and to welcome in your person all of the republic's workers, all the glorious members of the armed forces, and the war and labor veterans to the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory, and to wish you all excellent health and good cheer, new creative communist successes, good fortune to each family, and to each of your homes. (Stormy applause).

The heroic feat of those who, meeting the leaden hail of fire head-on in the time of the most severe trials of the Great Patriotic War, defended our Soviet Motherland with their own bodies and the world from fascist enslavement, is not subject to the erosion of time. The immortal form of the Soviet soldier, who extinguished the flames of war with his own blood, and who hoisted the red flag over a conquered Berlin, is not subject to the erosion of time. And this was the October banner--the all-conquering banner of Lenin! (Stormy applause).

Its crimson sheen inaugurated the dawn of a life of peace for the peoples of the world. In its selfless struggle with the shock detachment of world imperialism--Hitlerian fascism--the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, did much more than defend the liberty and independence of our socialist fatherland. In defending their revolutionary achievements and continuing the immortal work done by Lenin, our people did not merely crush the fascist swastika--the symbol of Naziism, bare-faced reaction and obscurantism. Through their dedicated example, they gave new strength to, and closed ranks with the anti-fascists, and with everyone else who was struggling for their social and national liberation.

Our historical victory had a decisive influence on the entire course of the postwar development of the world. It provided a terrific impetus to the new surge in revolutionary struggle, widened the scope of the national liberation

movement, and determined the final collapse of the disgraceful colonial system. Within the world arena, there has been a radical change in the alignment of the forces which stand for peace, democracy and socialism. The world-wide historical significance of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War lies in the fact that the creative revolutionary work of the liberated masses has led to the formation, development and consolidation of the world socialist system.

Comrades! There are, in the annals of history, certain events which have determined the movement of humanity to the heights of social progress. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War belong to the first rank of these events. The October Revolution demonstrated the inevitability of the socialist future, as well as its feasibility, to the entire world. The failure of fascist aggression proved that the hard-won victory of socialism is an irreversible phenomenon. Life has confirmed the rectitude of the Leninist foresight, the Leninist conviction, and Lenin's revolutionary optimism when he stated, "That nation will never be vanquished, in which the workers and peasants have, by and large on their own, found out, sensed and caught sight of the fact that they are defending their very own Soviet power, which is the power of the workers, and that they are championing a cause, a victory which will provide them and their children with the opportunity to take advantage of all the blessings of culture and all the fruits of human labor." These lines, written by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin following the victory of the October Revolution, reveal a great truth about the invincibility of the socialist social structure.

Taken altogether and merged into a single whole, the October Revolution, the Victory and their aftereffects have determined the character of a new age in world history. And this is precisely the reason that neither the October Revolution nor the Victory belong strictly to the past; they belong to the present and future of our country, and of all mankind. (Applause).

The course and laws of history are not subject to the will of any class which has departed from history's arena. In this sense, the Great Patriotic War was a clash, not merely of two states, but of states representing two opposing social structures. One of them--capitalism--is an obsolescent, moribund structure. The other structure--socialism--is moving upward, is on the ascendant. And this radical difference has made itself felt since the first day of the unprecedented ferocity of the titanic battle which erupted at dawn on the 22nd day of June, 1941, in hails of lead from the Barents to the Black seas. We were aware that a battle with fascism was inevitable, and we therefore were prepared for war. And when the cannons began to fire, our entire country, both battlefield and home front, became an armed camp. Our front line extended not only along the Ukrainian steppes, the Belorussian forests, the dunes of the Baltic Sea region and the fields of Russia, but also passed through every heart. And this is where our strength lay. As Vladimir Il'ich Lenin said, "In every war, final victory depends on the spiritual state of those masses who spill their blood on the field of battle. Belief in the justness of war, and the consciousness of the need to lay down one's life for the good of their brothers uplifts the spirit of the soldiers and forces them to endure unheard of difficulties."

In order to unite the efforts of the front lines with the home front, and to command all operations for organizing resistance to the fascist aggressors, the State Defense Committee was set up, and was headed by General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) I. V. Stalin. (Applause).

Four decades have passed, but many people in the world are posing the question of how we, the Soviet people, were able to hold out. What gave us the will, the courage and the strength of spirit? Neither the ones who fought the war, nor the heirs of the Great Victory have need to search for the answers to these questions. For us, the chronicle of the Patriotic War is no archival inquiry. It is the past, which lives in the present and the future of those who fought the war, their sons, and all succeeding generations.

Every line of this chronicle has been written in blood. It was written by the death of 20 million Soviet people--soldiers and non-combatants. It is soaked with the tears of tens of millions of orphans, widows and invalids. It emanates with the smoke of thousands of destroyed, incinerated cities and villages. It seizes the throat with the innumerable sufferings which the war brought to our people.

But the chronicle contains other, optimistic lines. They were written by our soldiers during the battle of Moscow, when the myth of the invincibility of the German Wehrmacht was dispelled. They were composed on the fervent snow of the cauldron which was Stalingrad, where the 330,000-man army of the Reich stacked its arms. They acquired striking force in the legendary epic of the Leningrad blockade and in the tank battles of the Kursk Bulge. They breathe the air of Victory when our revolutionary banner was hoisted over Berlin. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

Comrades! The political leader of the sacred nation-wide struggle was the party of Lenin. Having become the party which joined the battle during the years of the war, it united the people, and merged the courage and selflessness of the troops and the workers on the home front into a cohesive whole. The party stably unified the political, state and military leadership, and united the army and the people. The communists were found in the most difficult and decisive sectors of the battle with the enemy. With their impassioned party-inspired words and their personal valor, they inspired the Soviet people and led them in the utter rout of the enemy. The party sent its best sons into the Field Forces. Three million communists fell in battle. And replacements were put into service for every party-member soldier who was killed. By the victorious spring of 1945, every fourth soldier was a party member.

Indeed, the party's work in putting the national economy on a war footing as quickly as possible was monumental. During just the period from July to November of 1941 over 1,500 industrial enterprises, as well as a large number of institutes and laboratories, were relocated from the Ukraine and Belorussia, and from areas of the Russian front. Over 10 million people were evacuated from the regions of the home front. Skilfully utilizing the advantages of the socialist system of economic operation, the party changed the country's economy over to the military style.



A high-output military-industrial base was established on the uninhabited soil of Siberia, where mass output of guns, tanks, airplanes and other military materiel was set going. This production by many times surpassed the ordnance of Hitler's Germany, which had the military potential of all of Europe involved in its production.

The Communist Party guided the entire course of the armed struggle, as well as the life and activity of those on the home front, and it led the resistance to the enemy in temporarily occupied territory. The unity of the party and the people was strengthened still more during the years of the war. And this was the decisive condition which brought about our Great Victory.

Honor and glory to the Soviet soldier and liberator! Honor and glory to our generals and military leaders! Honor and glory to the invincible Soviet Army! (Stormy applause).

During the Patriotic War, the unprecedented strength of the inviolable friendship of the socialist nations and the nationalities of the USSR was revealed. This friendship, which grew during the class struggles of the proletariat, was strengthened during the years when socialism was being built, and which was tempered in the fire of battle, upset the enemy's plans to disunite and set our peoples at variance. Sealed with our jointly spilled blood, our friendship united the Soviet peoples even closer, and strengthened their international brotherhood for good.

All of the peoples of our Soviet country made worthy contributions to the crushing defeat of the fascist invaders. But our elder brother--the Great Russian people--bore the primary burden of the war on its shoulders. (Applause). Acting as the right flank of the October Uprising, this people, with its heroism and selflessness, its high spiritual qualities and moral beauty and indomitable will to victory, was the greatest example of socialist internationalism for all the country's nations and nationalities. An example of a heroic feat in the name of the triumph of the ideals of communism, of good and of justice. Honor and glory to the great Russian people--a revolutionary people, gallant warrior and selfless toiler! (Stormy applause).

Soviet Azerbaijan joined the united military formation of fraternal republics in the defense of the Socialist Fatherland. In the time of the most severe trials at the very beginning of the Patriotic War about 40,000 volunteers donned soldier's tunics, and about 200,000 signed up in the people's volunteer corps. In just the first year of the war the Azerbaijan Communist Party sent almost 40,000 communists into the army. About 600,000 of Azerbaijan's sons and daughters fought on the front lines of the war.

The 416th, 223rd and 77th divisions, as well as the other formations which were organized in Azerbaijan inscribed glorious pages into the history of the Great Patriotic War. The republic's party organization rendered a great amount of assistance to the command and the political organs and the units [soyedineniye] and the units [chast'] in organizing military and political training for the troops, in providing political workers for the regiments and divisions, and in the provision of material and technical equipment.

Having received their baptism of fire in the Battle of the Caucasus, the units formed in Azerbaijan took part in the forced crossing of the Dnepr, the liberation of the Kuban and the Crimea, the surrounding and routing of the Yassy-Kishinev Wehrmacht grouping, the campaign to liberate Eastern Europe and the assault on Berlin.

And even today, after four decades, lines from those citizens of Taganrog who endured the fascist occupation still stir up our contemporaries. They evoke a feeling of pride in the heroic feat of the elder generation, and their aspiration to be worthy heroes.

The citizens of Taganrog wrote to the workers of our republic: "Greetings to you, valiant sons of sunny Azerbaijan! The heroic Red Army snatched us from our fascist captors on 30 August and returned us to the fraternal family of the peoples of the Soviet Union. We shall never forget the feats of arms of the rifle division which is now called the Taganrogskaya Rifle Division and which is made up of representatives of your country. The blood ties of the Russian and Azerbaijani peoples have been still further strengthened in the battle of Taganrog."

The sailors of the Red Banner Caspian Flotilla and the fighting men of the Baku Air Defense made a worthy contribution to the defense of the Homeland. Many of Azerbaijan's sons fought bravely in the partisan units in occupied areas of the Ukraine and Belorussia. Participants of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia, Italy, France and other European countries cherish their memories of the courageous descendents of Kerogla and Babek.

The Motherland highly esteems the military staunchness and courage, and the faith in their patriotic and international duty of the sons and daughters of Azerbaijan. Of them, 176,000 have been awarded battle decorations, over 120 people have been honored with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and 30 have received the Order of Glory, all three classes.

Honor and glory to the courageous fighting men who, shoulder to shoulder with their brothers, defended our Motherland from fascist enslavement. The bright and beautiful memory of their heroic feat is with us forever! (Applause).

The outcome of the war was not decided only in battles. It was decided every day and every hour in the battle, which was intense and which developed all around the country, for metal, petroleum, equipment and bread. In the years of severe trials, oil-rich Baku became the main fuel reservoir for both the front and the rear guard, and an important arsenal for the fighting army. The republic's oil workers provided the Red Army and the entire country's industry with fuel. Caravans of tank cars went right along the seacoast to Astrakhan. History has never seen anything like it!

During the war years, 75 million tons of petroleum were recovered, as well as 22 million tons of gasoline and other oil products. The sailors of the tanker and dry cargo fleets showed themselves to be selfless workers during this period, as did the railroad and dockworkers. The workers of Azerbaijan also did a lot of work in developing new oil recovery regions in the country's eastern part, as well as in restoring the economy of the areas liberated from fascist occupation.

The Motherland places a high value on the selfless patriotic labor done by Azerbaijan's industrial workers during the grim time of the war. Many labor collectives were repeatedly awarded with the Challenge Red Banner of the State Defense Committee during those years, and several of them earned the Order of Lenin and the Order of Labor Red Banner. And there is even a new decoration from the Motherland, which also crowns the merit of the republic's workers. As you know, among those laborers decorated a few days ago with the Order of the Patriotic War, first class, who make up the country's labor collectives, there are the Azneft' and Baku Seaport production associations. We heartily congratulate the workers of these enterprises with the high esteem of the party and the government on their heroic efforts which were directed at supplying the Soviet Army and Navy during the years of the Great Patriotic War. (Stormy applause).

Not sparing themselves, Azerbaijan's collective-farm peasantry also toiled during the years of the war. Millions of poods of bread, hundreds of thousands of tons of cotton, and thousands of tons of butter, milk, and meat were put into the government's storehouses. For their achievements in the development of the Azerbaijan SSR's public animal husbandry, they were awarded the State Defense Committee Red Banner four times.

Our glorious intelligentsia, scientific institution collectives, national educational agencies, inventors, rationalizers and gifted artistic and literary masters made inestimable contributions in the sacred nation-wide struggle with the fascist invaders.

Comrades! The essential historical advantages of our structure which brought us to our Great Victory have convincingly proven their vitality and efficiency during the years of the postwar reconstruction as well.

Our victor nation, our warrior nation again became a creator nation. Its selfless labor was carried out in historically brief periods of time, which even today excite the imagination, and during which not only were the severe wounds which were brought about by the war healed, but the destroyed national economy was rebuilt and cities and villages raised from the ruins and ashes. But also, major successes were accomplished in developing our economy and culture, in strengthening the Fatherland's defensive might, and the nation's spiritual growth. At present our country's industrial production is 2-fold greater than the total world output for prewar 1940. Gross agricultural output is almost 3-fold higher than the prewar level. The fact that capital investments into the national economy for 1984 alone were 3.3-fold greater than the extent of investments for the entire prewar period is proof of the immeasurably increased scope of this country's economy. The establishment of a powerful material and technical base for developed socialism is still the single greatest feat of the Soviet people.

The faithfulness of the memory of those fiery years to the military and labor feats of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War is embodied in the present-day glorious achievements of the Soviet people. At present the USSR has available a strong, growing economy, a highly-skilled labor force, and occupies a leading place in the world in a number of productive sectors, as well as in science and technology. Many of the economic and social problems of the 11th Five-Year Plan are being successfully resolved.

The Communist Party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the Central Committee are doing purposeful, many-sided political, organizing and ideological work which is directed towards the subsequent implementation of the strategic line worked out at the 26th CPSU Congress and successive Central Committee plenums. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev points out, "This is the line which will accelerate the country's social and economic development, and which will improve all facets of our society's life. It's a question of the transformation of the material and technical basis of production. It's also a case of improving the system of public attitudes, and primarily economic attitudes. And it's a case of developing each person, and of qualitatively improving the conditions in which he lives and works, and of improving his spiritual aspect."

Communists, indeed the entirety of the Soviet people have welcomed the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with profound satisfaction. These decisions have become the most important political event in the life of the party and the people. The Plenum accurately formulated the most urgent tasks facing the country in the economic, organizational and the ideological-theoretical spheres, laid out a program of deployed battle training which should be ready by the 27th Party Congress. The decisions of the Central Committee Plenum, the steadfast striving of the party to advance along the road of unerring Leninist purposefulness, which leads to intensive and comprehensive work, to daring and energetic actions which are aimed at the elimination of everything which would hinder our forward movement, have all been greeted by the communists and workers of Azerbaijan, as they have by all Soviet people, with warm approval. (Stormy applause).

The complex and large-scale tasks of this present stage, which were boldly designated in the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, guide us to a speedy solution of the tasks of intensifying the socialist economy by making use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, to a significant increase in labor productivity, to the stirring up of the entire system of political and public institutions, and the strengthening, by all means possible, of the extent of organization and of order and discipline in each sector, and in each workplace.

Under the guidance and with the help of the CPSU Central Committee, this republic's party organization is making a purposeful effort to bring about a surge in the economy, to increase the creative initiative and political activity of the workers, to improve the management of all spheres of our society's life, to strengthen party and state discipline, and to maintain a healthy moral and psychological climate.

The remarkable labor achievements of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the national intelligentsia during the years of the 9th, 10th and 11th Five Year Plan periods brought this republic out to the front rank of those struggling to carry out the party's plans, and to realize the plans for the country's economic and social development, developed by the party. These successes, which were achieved by virtue of the fraternal mutual aid and collaboration of all peoples of the USSR, permitted the Azerbaijan SSR to considerably increase its contribution to the country's national economy.

The national economy of Azerbaijan is developing in dynamic fashion, and with high rates. The plans and socialist obligations for four of the five-year plan's years have been fulfilled according to every indicator, and the volume of industrial production has increased by 24.3 percent. Agricultural output increased by 31.6 percent. Labor productivity in the republic's industry increased by 17.8 percent. A considerable economic effect was obtained through savings in the most critical resources. Important steps have been taken to implement the social program of the CPSU, and in the continued improvement of the people's well-being.

The communists and workers of this republic, as well as all Soviet people see their patriotic and internationalist duty in celebrating the anniversary of the victory over the forces of fascism and militarism by bringing the 11th Five-Year Plan period to a successful conclusion. Meeting the highest forum of Soviet communists halfway, the workers of the republic repeatedly compare their plans and practical affairs with the legacy of the great Lenin and the general party line, and devote all their strength and knowledge to the business of further strengthening the economic and defensive might of the beloved Motherland. We are well aware that the best memorial to those who laid down their lives at the front and the best monument in honor of all those who selflessly did battle with the enemy and likewise forged the weapons of Victory is our labor and our selfless work to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the new primary tasks of communist creation which were determined by the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Comrades! The farther the years of the Great Patriotic War recede into the past, the more profoundly do we understand the uninterrupted bond of the times, and the continuity of all the generations of builders and defenders of the socialist Fatherland.

Today, the veterans of the war and the home front and the young heirs of their military and labor glory stand as a single formation of workers. Even today, many veterans work their shifts on drilling derricks, in plant shops, in kol-khoz fields and in scientific laboratories. Just as they did before, they are giving their strength and energy for victories on the labor front.

The Motherland and the Communist Party hold the feats of arms and conscientious labor of those who took part in the Great Patriotic War in great esteem, and the Fatherland cares about them. It was with profound gratitude that the veterans of war and labor accepted, on the eve of this holiday, the Edict of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on their being awarded with individual Orders of the Patriotic War and the Jubilee Medal commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Victory, and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers regarding additional benefits and privileges for those who took part in the war and for the families of those soldiers who perished. The conditions for social welfare, trade, medical, sanitary and health resort, and cultural services for the veterans are constantly being improved and their pensions are being increased. On the eve of Victory Day, 120 invalids and participants of the Great Patriotic War, and the families of those who perished were presented, in ceremonial surroundings, with vouchers, and they are being moved into new quarters. (Applause).

The party committees, ispolkoms of Soviets of People's Deputies and economic administrators have been called upon to take constant care of those who took part in the Great Patriotic War. Not only during holidays, daily attention needs to be given to their needs and requirements. This is a problem of immense political and educational importance!

Dear veterans! All of your labor experience which was upset by the war and which has, to a great degree, been compensated by you yourselves, is our price-less property. The passing on of this experience, your glorious traditions and high ideological and moral training to the new generations is a noble work, worthy of respect.

It ought to be mentioned that our republic's veterans of the war and the home front have been fulfilling this, their main civil responsibility, in worthy fashion. With paternal care and love, they teach the younger generation the lessons of courage, patriotism and life's wisdom. Each meeting with them serves to temper and inspire the youngsters, and introduces them to the heroic deeds of their fathers and grandfathers. With the help and the active participation of our veterans, thousands of Azerbaijan's young boys and girls are taking part in the All-Union Memorial Shift and the All-Union "Chronicle of the Great Patriotic War" Search Expedition. At the present time in Azerbaijan there are over 3,700 monuments, memorials, "red corners" dedicated to battle glory and museums. The monument in Taganrog in honor of the 416th Division and the other units which liberated the Rostov Oblast, and the memorial to the soldiers of the 77th Division who took part in the assault on Sapun-gory in the Crimea have become symbols of the collaboration in battle of the Soviet peoples.

A great amount of military and patriotic work is being carried out in conjunction with veterans by the museums of battle glory in Baku and other cities, the Memorial Museum of Hero of the Soviet Union General Azi Aslanov in Lenkoran, the Museum of Battle and Labor Glory in the village of Chardakhly, in the Shamkhor Rayon, in the homeland of the two-time Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of the Soviet Union Bagramyan and Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of Armored Troops Babadzhanyan.

All the same, I want to mention that the resources for intensifying the participation of our veterans in the military and patriotic education of our youth is probably still not being fully utilized. This effort needs to be conducted in better fashion, with the joint efforts of party and Komsomol organizations.

At present, Komsomol, national educative agencies, DOSAAF [possibly All-Union Order Red Banner Volunteer Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy of the USSR] and the republic's military commissariats are making a sizeable contribution to military and patriotic education. The ties between the youth and the army are growing stronger. At the Baku All-Service Command College imeni Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and the Caspian Red Banner Navy College imeni S. M. Kirov, the constantly-active military and patriotic schools are at work. Over 450 students of the special boarding school imeni Division Commander Dzh. Nakhichevanskiy have become Soviet Army officers and are fulfilling their military duties in appropriate fashion.

During the period of training for the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory, the military and patriotic work being done in the republic became single-minded and richer in both content and form. The task of the party committees and Komsomol organizations consists in carrying out this work to a still greater extent, in keeping it in state-of-the-art form, in tirelessly bringing up our youth in the example of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War. This work must be permeated with a selfless spirit of love for the Motherland and a constant readiness to perform heroic feats. In a word, neither strength nor spirit must be spared, nor the heart to bring up a generation such as this, which, as soon as the next few years, could take the cares of the country, its defense and its economic might upon its shoulders. (Applause).

Comrades! The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War has elevated the authority and strengthened the international position of the USSR even more. The consolidation of the world socialist system, the growth of the communist and workers' movement and the intensification of the social, political and economic antagonisms of imperialism all make up the most important trends in contemporary world development. At present, there are no powers capable of halting the irresistible movement of the Soviet people or the peoples of the other socialist countries which are in collaboration with the triumph of communism.

The Banner of Victory which was hoisted over the Reichstag 40 years ago is not simply a battle relic. Today it flutters as a proud color cloth over the ranks of the supporters of peace, who fervently call upon the people to ever more fearlessly join in the struggle against a new threat of war. In its vibrant flame, the attempts of the apologists of imperialism to distort the true causes and lessons of World War II, and to belittle the significance and magnitude of the victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany look pitiful and insignificant today.

However, these vain attempts are futile and are doomed to fail, because they are not backed up by historical truth. The entrance into the war of the Soviet Union, which was a mighty socialist Power, which had vast military-economic and moral and political potential as well as powerful armed forces at its disposal was the decisive factor in the development of the Second World War into a just war. The USSR was the people's main support in the struggle with Hitler's Germany, and the main force insuring its crushing defeat. The people of the world are aware of this truth. And those who attempt to distort this truth cannot escape the obvious fact that the victorious outcome of the Great Patriotic War is a stern warning to the forces of aggression who are presently increasing the tension in the international arena and pushing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, pursuing a policy of uniting the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces subsequently uphold, in the international arena, the great Leninist legacy of always being on the alert, of strengthening the country's defensive capability, and actively struggling for a durable and inviolable peace in the name of the happiness of mankind.

The Central Committee of the party is directing its efforts at preventing any disruptions in the established military and strategic balance of powers, at normalizing the international situation and at eliminating the threat of a new world war. The Soviet Union and the countries of socialist cooperation are unalterably in favor of the development of normal, equitable intergovernmental relations which have their basis in genuine respect for the norms of international law, so that thorny issues and conflict situations can be resolved politically.

The cooperation of socialist countries is the leading force in the struggle for a peaceful future for this planet. The meeting of the highest party and governmental figures from the Warsaw Pact nations was a significant landmark on the way to the further strengthening of this unity and solidarity. The participants of this meeting took up the question of extending the term of the Pact of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid, which was concluded on 14 May 1955, and exchanged opinions concerning pressing European and world political problems. The Warsaw meeting once again demonstrated the firm resolve of socialist cooperation to unswervingly follow the Leninist way to peace and peaceful coexistence both now and henceforth.

The Soviet Union's initiatives regarding Soviet-American talks in Geneva have evoked a warm response in the hearts of millions of people. One can talk about peace, but real steps have to be taken in order to keep it secure. The people need deeds, not words. And for as long as the talks have been going on, our country has been proposing the introduction of a moratorium on developing weapons for space, and a freeze on strategic nuclear arsenal levels. In a continuation of this policy, the Soviet Union unilaterally announced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range rockets and on a build-up of other retaliatory measures in Europe. And this is not the only step of this type taken by us. Since 1982 the Soviet Union has had a unilateral no-first-strike obligation in effect. And since 1983--another unilateral moratorium on launching the first anti-satellite weapons into space. The United States and its aggressive NATO bloc allies have not responded to a single one of these initiatives with a gesture of good will. And once again the spiral in the arms race of nuclear and conventional weapons is uncoiling, and the very existence of civilization is once again threatened.

Forced to restrain the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, our party and people will henceforth take care to insure that the Armed Forces of the Land of the Soviet have everything they need to defend October's achievements. The lessons of history are severe. Those who have lost their prudence, and who dare to raise the sword over our Motherland, will suffer a smashing blow. (Stormy applause).

Our slogan has been, and remains, "Peace to the People!", and "War Must Not Be Repeated!". The Communist Party and the Soviet Government see the central thrust of their foreign policy in the implementation of these ideas.

Comrades! The Victory holiday is infinitely near and dear to the Soviet people. Turning again and again to its most essential sources, and its primary motive forces, we honor our native Communist Party. And today, the party of the



Communists is in the vanguard of the struggle for social and economic progress, and a sharp rise in the well-being and culture of the masses. And today, the monolithic unity of the party and the people, and the amity and fraternity of the socialist nations is the decisive factor in the might and prosperity of our homeland.

The workers of Azerbaijan assure the Leninist Central Committee that they will multiply their contribution in the strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the Fatherland, and will give a worthy greeting to the 27th CPSU Congress, which is opening up new horizons of communist creation. The ideals of communism, in the name of the triumph of which the Soviet people fought and emerged victorious during the time of the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War and during our stormy revolutionary age--comprise a great creative force. The future belongs to it and only to it. (Stormy applause).

Eternal glory to the heroes who defended the freedom and independence of our socialist Motherland! (Stormy applause).

Long live the great soviet people, the victor-people, the communism-building people! (Stormy applause).

Glory to the Soviet Armed Forces! (Stormy applause).

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the inspiration and organizer of all our victories. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

Onward to new victories in communist creation under the banner of Lenin! (Stormy, prolonged applause).

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REGIONAL

## AZERBAIJAN RECEIVES RED BANNER AWARD

Dymshits Presents Award

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Mar 85 pp 1-3

[Report on proceedings at challenge red banner presentation ceremony]

[Text] The working people of Soviet Azerbaijan marked the shock labor effort of the fourth year of the 5-year plan with impressive accomplishments, having reached new frontiers in all spheres of the economy, science and culture. For achieving high results in all-union socialist competition and successful fulfillment of the Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1984 for the 15th year in succession the Azerbaijan SSR has been awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banner. A meeting of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic-planning activists in conjunction with representatives of working people's collectives, which was held on 6 March in the Palace imeni V.I. Lenin, was devoted to presentation of the award.

V.E. Dymshits, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, comrades K.M. Bagirov, O.A. Bagirov, G.A. Gasanov, A.S. Denisov, S.Ch. Kasumova, V.N. Kononov, I.A. Mamedov, R.E. Mekhtiyev, G.N. Seidov, S.B. Tatliyev, K.A. Khalilov, Z.M. Yusif-zade, B.S. Kevorkov, D.M. Muslim-zade, N.E. Mustafayev, L.Kh. Rasulova and G.Sh. Efendiyev, F.G. Akhmedov, A.D. Lemberanskiy, M.S. Mamedov, A.N. Mutalibov and G.V. Shcheglov, deputy chairmen of the AzSSR Council of Ministers, party, war and labor veterans, pacesetters of the 11th Five-Year Plan, figures of science and culture and generals and admirals constituted the presidium.

The meeting was opened by G.N. Seidov, chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko was with great enthusiasm elected honorary presidium.

The floor was granted V.E. Dymshits, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades,

For achieving high results in all-union socialist competition and successfully fulfilling the Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1984 the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee have acknowledged the AzSSR the winner and awarded it the challenge red banner.

Permit me, as instructed by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, to warmly and cordially congratulate you and, through you, all working people of the republic on the successes and the award of the motherland.

Permit me also to perform the honorary assignment of congratulating the workers, employees, kolkhoz members, people's intelligentsia and the entire party organization of the republic and convey best wishes in work, health and happiness to the entire people of Azerbaijan from Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The party and the Soviet Government valued highly the selfless labor of the workers of industry, agriculture, construction and transport and scientists and specialists of all sectors of the economy of the Azerbaijan republic. This is recognition of the high labor achievements and the results of the great, purposeful, persevering and consistent work performed by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee on fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the result of the great organizing and mass-political work of all party, economic-planning, trade union and Komsomol organizations on mobilization of the working people for fulfillment of the quotas of the 5-year plan and the socialist pledges.

It has to be said with satisfaction and joy at today's ceremonial meeting that high marks in socialist competition have been merited not only by the republic as a whole but also by a number of rayons, collectives and organizations of Azerbaijan, which distinguished themselves in all-union competition. The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, the city of Mingechaur, Baku's Leninskiy Rayon and a further 36 rayons, associations, enterprises, construction trusts, organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic were recognized winners for the successful fulfillment of the 1984 plan and have been awarded red banners.

Permit me to cordially congratulate the pacesetters of industry, agriculture, construction and transport and all working people of the order-bearing republic, who achieved splendid victories in socialist competition, on the high evaluation of their labor and to wish them new labor accomplishments for the good and strengthening of the Soviet motherland.

The Soviet Union has entered the concluding stage of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The main result of the past 4 years is that the party and the people, following unswervingly the course of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, are going confidently forward along the path of consolidation of our country's economic and defense might and a rise in Soviet people's well-being and along the path of peace and progress.

We note today with satisfaction that the country's economy has begun to develop more dynamically and at a higher pace. The level of all work has risen considerably in the last 2 years. The increase in the industrial product in 1983 and 1984 was in excess of R30 billion a year. This was 1.4 times higher than in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

The highest indicators were achieved in 1984. The country produced 154 million tons of steel, 9 million television receivers, 1.3 million passenger cars, 249,000 tons of tea and many other important products.

The volume of industrial production increased 4.2 percent in the year--higher than planned. The use of material, labor and financial resources improved. The fact that 93 percent of the entire increase in industrial production was achieved thanks to increased labor productivity is important.

An enormous program of capital construction was realized. Some 800 new industrial enterprises were commissioned in the 4 years. Such major installations as the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad, nuclear power stations and mineral fertilizer plants came on stream. Three newly built mills in Moldavia, Belorussia and Staryy Oskol began the most advanced electric steel-smelting production.

The commissioning of fixed production capital accelerated. For the first time in recent years it has begun to outpace the growth of capital investments, as a result of which the amount of incomplete construction has been reduced.

Positive changes are taking place in the countryside. State purchases of livestock and poultry, milk and eggs were higher than in 1983. The numbers of livestock increased. Despite difficult climatic and natural conditions, the volume of agricultural production grew. The gross product of the sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex increased by R57 billion in 1983 and 1984 compared with the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

The social program of an improvement in the people's life outlined by the party was implemented successfully. The average monthly wage of workers and employees and also kolkhoz members' pay grew. The social consumption funds, which amounted to R140 billion a year, increased. Considering these funds, the wage of workers and employees increased to R250 a month.

Some 440 million square meters of general living space and thousands of schools, hospitals, preschool establishments and other social and cultural facilities were commissioned in the 4 years. This afforded more than 40 million people a chance to improve their housing conditions. Approximately 10 million people gave house-warming parties in the last year alone.

The country entered 1985 on the high political and labor enthusiasm of the entire people. This year is a special one. Elections to the union republic supreme soviets and the local soviets of people's deputies were held a few days ago. The elections demonstrated the working people's complete approval of and universal support for the party's political course and the Soviet people's cohesion around the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by that outstanding continuer of Lenin's cause, Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary

of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It is natural that Comrade K.U. Chernenko, members of the Politburo and party and government leaders were among the first named by the people as their candidates.

The opinion and votes of more than 185 million voters confirmed the indisputable growth of the authority of Soviet power.

In less than 2 months we will be commemorating the 115th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, founder of our party and state, brilliant thinker, great revolutionary and leader and teacher of all working people. In honor of this working people's collectives will voluntarily work a Saturday without pay during the Lenin festival and have initiated socialist competition for high work indicators.

Celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory in the Patriotic War over German fascism will be an outstanding event. This will be a truly great holiday of the Soviet people, who defended the honor and independence of their motherland, smashed in the bloodiest and grimmest war in man's history the hated fascist aggressors, saved the peoples of Europe from enslavement and gave the peoples of our planet 40 years of peaceful life.

Preparations for a historic event in the life of our party and people--preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, a congress which will study questions of a new edition of the party program and specification of the rules and the most important problems and tasks of the country's economic development in the new 5-year plan and for the long term--are unfolding even now throughout the country. The multinational Soviet people are preparing themselves for these splendid dates in order by a new surge of creative energy, the sweep of socialist competition and labor victories to make the final year of the 5-year plan one of shock labor, a high work tempo and the successful completion of the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The country, the party and the people are confronted with magnificent new tasks and plans.

The economy constitutes the foundation of the accomplishment of the social and political tasks and also the strengthening of the country's defense capability. As V.I. Lenin said, "economic matters in our country are our common concern. This is for us the most interesting policy."

In his article in the journal KOMMUNIST Comrade K.U. Chernenko raised fundamental, key questions of the further upsurge of the country's economy. "The first and obvious thing that has to be done is to mobilize the organizational efforts and material resources necessary for the speediest retooling of all sectors of the national economy and for the rapid industrial assimilation of the most progressive techniques. This is a task of key significance. Tackling it means tackling also the problem of the intensification and increased efficiency of the economy."

The party teaches us to evaluate what has been achieved realistically and to be able to see not only the successes but also the shortcomings and omissions.

It is a question of the fact that in the years of Soviet power we have created tremendous economic potential, a very big industry and collective mechanized agriculture. Our task now is not only to increase the production volume and improve the level of technology generally but to make our country the most progressive in terms of the introduction of scientific achievements in all sectors of the national economy.

It is a question of constructing new enterprises and also modernizing and retooling our entire industry and all enterprises without exception on the basis of the most progressive science and technology such as the introduction of computers and microprocessors and the mass use of robots and mechanical arms, laser technology and flexible production engineering systems affording an opportunity for the rapid reorganization of production and a transition in construction to complete prefabrication and highly industrial methods and the performance of operations in a short time. Only on this basis will we be able to raise the level of the economy and the life of the people.

The creation and introduction of progressive technology and techniques and an increase in product quality should be at the center of the attention of each labor collective. The front of the scientific-technical revolution now runs through each place of work, plant laboratory, scientist's study and construction site. In a word, it is a matter of state importance.

Comrade K.U. Chernenko pointed out in his election speech that the main task of the party was and remains a further rise in the Soviet people's well-being, and we are advancing unswervingly here from year to year.

Much that is good is being done for Soviet people. We have something to be proud of. However, we cannot be complacent. "The standard and quality of life in our society rise from year to year to precisely the extent that we work better. No less, but no more either." This means that in order to live better it is necessary to work better and in order to raise people's well-being more rapidly it is necessary to improve work and activity in all areas of socialist building more rapidly, switch to the intensification of production and ensure economies and thrift in all things. It is necessary to consolidate the positive changes in the economy and, consequently, in the rise in Soviet people's living standard. Not only consolidate but multiply also.

The priority task is fulfilling the 1985 plan.

Our country is engaged in creative labor, and the Soviet Union does not need war and an arms race, they being alien to the very nature of socialism, the ideal of which is peace.

We support general and complete disarmament and a curbing of the arms race, which has become the greatest threat to peace and a heavy burden for the entire world economy.

You know what multifaceted initiatives the Soviet Union has presented and continues to present in the struggle for peace. Now, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism, the whole world clearly sees

that the main barrier to the aggressive forces of imperialism in the arms race and military adventures is the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries. The Soviet Union is making a decisive contribution to the cause of the preservation of peace and prevention of nuclear war.

At the same time it has to be seen that the imperialist policy of the United States and the NATO countries is increasingly complicating the international situation and that they are building up weapons arsenals and bursting to create not only terrestrial but also star wars and to militarize space. The international atmosphere is tense and demands unflagging vigilance. Under conditions where a military threat exists in the world we need to preserve as the apple of our eye the security of our country and its allies and friends. The Soviet Union will never permit military superiority over itself and will do everything necessary to protect the peaceful creative labor of our people and strengthen the country's defense capability. Our glorious armed forces have and always will have everything necessary to defend the motherland.

Soviet people may have no doubt of this.

Comrades! The working people of the AzSSR are making a significant contribution to the development and strengthening of the might of the land of soviets. The industrious, talented Azerbaijani people are proceeding confidently along the Leninist path in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. Together with you our entire country is proud of the republic's successes.

In 1984 the republic honorably fulfilled the plans and socialist pledges and scaled new high boundaries in economic and social development. The rate of growth of industrial production constituted 5.1 percent compared with the planned 4.5 percent, and the manufacture of products increased by more than R600 million.

In the year Azerbaijani industry's output volume was in excess of R12 billion. The significance and scale of this figure become particularly impressive if it is remembered that only 10 years ago the republic's industry was producing only half as much output. In the 4 years of the 5-year plan the volume of industrial production increased 24 percent, which is higher than the planned quotas.

Qualitative indicators of production efficiency are growing together with the quantitative indicators. From the start of the 5-year plan labor productivity in the republic's industry has risen almost 18 percent. The republic also coped well with the fulfillment of the pledges pertaining to an above-plan increase in labor productivity in 1984 and an additional lowering of production costs. Qualitative specifications improved also. Some 43 percent of products subject to certification now bear the official Symbol of Quality.

It is particularly gratifying that Azerbaijan's agriculture is developing dynamically and that its contribution to realization of the USSR Food Program is increasing constantly and becoming increasingly impressive.

Despite the unfavorable weather conditions, last year the workers of the agrarian sectors of the economy achieved a further growth in the production and purchases of agricultural products and coped ahead of schedule with the socialist pledges. This big labor victory was evaluated highly in the greetings of our party's Central Committee.

A record volume of the production grain, vegetables, fruit, tea leaf and local silkworm cocoons was achieved. The state was sold 824,000 tons of Azerbaijani cotton. The republic's viticulturists scored an outstanding success. Last year they harvested over 2 million tons of grapes. This was seven times more than in 1970. Every third kilo of grapes in the country was cultivated in Azerbaijan.

Thank you, comrade viticulturists, vegetable growers, cotton growers and all agricultural workers for the valiant labor.

Thanks to the workers of Azerbaijan's fields for the dispatch to Moscow, Leningrad and other industrial centers of the country last year of approximately 500,000 tons of early vegetables, grapes and various fruits.

The republic's stockbreeders worked well last year. The production and purchases of livestock and poultry and milk, eggs and wool increased, and there was a growth in the numbers of livestock and the productiveness of public animal husbandry. In terms of the results of the livestock wintering Azerbaijan was among the winners in all-union socialist competition. I would like to wish the republic's stockbreeders new successes this year also.

The work of Azerbaijan's construction workers also merits kind words. They coped honorably with the main tasks--they fulfilled the plans for the commissioning of fixed capital and the handover of finished facilities and capacity. The amount of incomplete construction was reduced. It is very important that fulfillment of the plans for the introduction of housing (1.7 million square meters of living space were handed over in the year for the working people), schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, clinics and other social facilities was secured.

In these last few days we have visited a number of enterprises which were built--an air conditioner plant, an electrical equipment plant, a deep-sea base plant, where the first phase has already been completed, a champagne wines plant and others.

Azerbaijan's construction workers know how to build well and rapidly. Good, first-class enterprises have been and are being built, and it is the production workers' task to assimilate them quickly. At the same time I would like to express to the construction workers certain wishes:

first, that they imitate a great deal of the industry which they themselves are creating: complete their work punctually, in accordance with fixed, well-conceived engineering, produce their product without leaving work undone, including the handover of shops with public services and amenities provided in the vicinity, and make the roads and layout not only prior to handover of the facilities but in order that they themselves work under good conditions;



construction workers, like production workers, should now work by industrial methods, in accordance with precise engineering, not shift earth and concrete by spade, mechanize laborious processes and economize on workers' labor;

together with the designers and architects it is necessary to improve the outward appearance of houses and residential apartments. Baku is a very handsome city, and there is much for both construction workers and architects to learn here. Certainly, the outward appearance of balconies and monotonous houses has annoyed not only the residents but the construction workers also; for example, Moscow's construction workers are building handsome houses, but under the south's conditions it is all the more possible to make them more attractive;

Azerbaijan's construction workers, and these are experienced, skilled people, must with all the energy typical of the workers of all sectors of the republic set about implementation of the decrees recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the government on a further improvement in construction and planning-estimates work.

All this is within the powers of Azerbaijan's construction workers, and we wish them successful work in fulfillment of the plans for 1985 and that they may occupy the foremost place among the country's construction workers.

As throughout the country, public well-being has matured in Azerbaijan: wages, real income per capita and the volume of retail commodity turnover and services rendered the public have increased.

Comrades! On this ceremonial day a few words have to be said about this splendid event. It is not the first time that the selfless labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of multinational Azerbaijan in all-union socialist competition has been commended. For 15 years in succession, year after year, Azerbaijan has won the foremost place in the republics' socialist competition. Today is the 15th time. This strikingly reflects the scale and stability of the republic's achievements, the attitude toward matters, the healthy moral-psychological atmosphere and the great and intensive organizing and political-educational work of the party, soviet and planning authorities and trade union and Komsomol organizations.

To the question as to what the ingredients of the successes scored by the republic are, it would be correct, I believe, to quote K.U. Chernenko's words from his book "Questions of the Work of the Party and State Machinery": "Answering this question briefly," Konstantin Ustinovich writes, "it may confidently be said: strict observance of the Leninist standards and principles of the leadership of economic and cultural building and the selection, assignment and training of personnel, the strengthening of party and state discipline and the growth of the assertiveness of the masses."

The political and labor upsurge of the assertiveness of all working people and the creative work of the party, soviet, Komsomol, trade union and economic-planning organizations of the republic headed by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee are the basis of the republic's successes. Comrade G.A. Aliyev, member

of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, worked as first secretary here for many years; working as such for several years; working as such for several years now has been Comrade K.M. Bagirov.

The main thing is that the republic and its party organization are not resting content with what has been achieved and are seeking and finding new paths of advancement, upsurge and the introduction in all sectors of the economy of the most progressive science and technology and a further improvement in the people's well-being, including an increase in the production and quality of consumer goods and the construction of residential and cultural-social buildings.

We wholeheartedly wish the republic and all working people new successes on this noble path of communist construction.

This is particularly relevant today, comrades. After all, we know and recall that in the pre-May days the Azerbaijani people and all working people of the republic will commemorate the 65th anniversary of the AzSSR and the Azerbaijan CP. This glorious path of the republic has been marked by three Orders of Lenin and orders of the October Revolution and Friendship of the Peoples.

In a short time Azerbaijan has covered a glorious path of accomplishments, changed its appearance fundamentally and created a highly developed economy, science and culture and appears today before the whole world as a prosperous socialist republic in the fraternal family of republics of the Soviet Union.

Dear friends! Your republic has since time immemorial been renowned for masters of their craft, true heroes of labor, the fame of whose deeds has passed far beyond the bounds of Azerbaijan and is known throughout the country. I shall name just some of them.

USSR State Prize winners Sabir Musayev, leader of a brigade of foundry hands of the Engineering Plant imeni P. Montin, and Adil' Mamedov, foreman of an underground well-maintenance brigade of the Production Association imeni XXII s''yezda KPSS, Heroes of Socialist Labor Sadraddin Akhmedov, leader of a viticultural brigade of Shemakhinskiy Rayon's Viticultural Sovkhoz imeni Sabir, and Akhmed Akhmedov, leader of a comprehensively mechanized cotton-growing brigade of Zhadanovskiy Rayon's Kolkhoz imeni Shaumyan, Tamara Kolodina, member of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Auditing Commission and electric sewing machine operator of the Baku Garment Factory imeni Volodarskiy, construction workers Grigoriy Gasparyan, deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet and leader of a brigade of assembly workers of the Glavbakstroy's House-Building Works-2, and Fizuli Mamedov, leader of a Komsomol-youth brigade of the Azerbaijan GRES Construction and Assembly Administration, Novruz Ramazanov, member of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and senior operator of Shop No 6 of the Banku Oil Refinery imeni XXII s''yezda KPSS, Adil' Guseynov, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and engineer of the Baladzhar'y Locomotive Depot, Khurma Salakhova, milker of Apsheronskiy Rayon's Khyrdalanskiy Dairy Sovkhoz, and many others.

The light of the beacons of production, which have summoned more than one noble undertaking and more than one labor initiative into being, has illumined the whole republic, and today it is not only Azerbaijan but the entire country which are matching themselves against them, the pacesetters of labor, and borrowing their experience, work methods and attitude toward matters.

Permit me to wish the shock workers of industry, agriculture, construction, transport and other sectors of the national economy outstanding new achievements and success in their selfless work.

The Azerbaijan working class today is an army of 1.3 million skilled people, three-fourths of whom have secondary education. They work at modern enterprises and are producing intricate mechanisms and most valuable equipment.

The kolkhoz peasantry are also people of the new Soviet formation. Today their industriousness is multiplied by the strength of the collective and the powerful arsenal of agricultural machinery and implements. They possess modern methods of agrotechnics. It is their hands which have turned Azerbaijan into a flourishing, fruitful orchard.

The people's intelligentsia performs a tremendous creative role. It now consists of tens of thousands of teachers and physicians, engineers and agronomists, scientists and production organizers and figures of culture. Together with the workers and peasants the republic's intelligentsia is participating actively in building the new life and giving all its knowledge, mind and talent for the good of the people.

In 2 days time we will be commemorating International Women's Day--8 March. I would like to mention particularly women's tremendous contribution to the republic's successes. I cordially congratulate the illustrious women of Azerbaijan on the great and joyous holiday and wish you new successes in work and health and happiness.

Comrades! As throughout the country, socialist competition for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the 1985 plan and the 5-year plan as a whole is widespread in your republic. Since the start of the year the high socialist pledges which were adopted have been a powerful impetus to an upsurge of the labor and political assertiveness of the masses and are a guarantee that the workers of Soviet Azerbaijan will under the leadership of the party organization fulfill and overfulfill the plan of the final year and the 5-year plan as a whole, secure the banner of pacesetters of the socialist competition and worthily greet the 27th congress of the Lenin Party.

Permit me in conclusion to once again wholeheartedly warmly congratulate the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers, the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee and all working people of the republic on the deserved award and wish you new labor successes for the good of our motherland.

Long live the AzSSR!

May our great motherland--the USSR--strengthen and flourish!

Glory to the CPSU, which is leading the Soviet people toward the victory of communism!

Permit me to perform the honorary assignment of the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and present the AzSSR with the challenge red banner.

(To stormy, prolonged applause V.E. Dymshits presented the red banner to representatives of the republic. The award was accepted by K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, K.A. Khalilov, chairman of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, G.N. Seidov, chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers, L.Kh. Rasulova, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, D.M. Muslim-zade, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee, E.Yu. Salayev, president of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, S.B. Muzafarov, drilling worker of the "Leninft" Oil and Gas Administration Underground and Major Well Maintenance Shop and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.N. Aliyev, leader of a viticultural bridge brigade of Babekskiy Rayon's "Kommunizm" Sovkhoz, hero of socialist labor and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, S.M. Imraliyev, leader of a composite mechanized cotton-growing brigade of Zhdanovskiy Rayon's Sovkhoz imeni Lenin, hero of socialist labor and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, A.V. Ivanova, weaver at the Mingechaur Textile Works imeni 50-letiya VLKSM and deputy of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet, S.V. Mamunts, director of Mardakertskiy Rayon's Sovkhoz imeni XXII parts' yezda, hero of socialist labor and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and G.A. Rasulov, leader of a composite brigade of the Ministry of Industrial Construction Trust No 4 Construction Administration-46, hero of socialist labor and AzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy)

Bagirov Speech at Ceremony

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Mar 85 pp 2-3

[Text] Dear Comrades!

For victory in all-union socialist competition the AzSSR has again been awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Red Banner. This esteemed award crowns the valiant labor of our heroic working class, illustrious kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia and is convincing testimony to the progressive ascent of Soviet Azerbaijan up the steps of the Ninth, 10th and 11th five-year plans. The red banner of the motherland which has just been presented to the republic embodies the high evaluation by the party Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government of the achievements of the republic's working people in fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges for 1984.

Permit me on this ceremonial and joyous day on your behalf and on behalf of the Azerbaijani people and all the republic's working people to express cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for the award and for the high evaluation of Azerbaijan's contribution to the development of the country's single national economic complex.

It was with profound emotion that each of us received the cordial congratulations and kind wishes of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We are boundlessly grateful to dear Konstantin Ustinovich for the congratulations, attention and kind feelings toward the working people of Soviet Azerbaijan. They inspire us, implant a new charge of strength and energy and impose high responsibility in the struggle to implement the party's plans.

Permit me on behalf of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers to warmly and cordially congratulate the republic's working people on the new victory in all-union socialist competition and wish each family even bigger successes in the labor stint of the 5-year plan, strong health, happiness and prosperity.

Like all Soviet people, the working people of Azerbaijan connect their achievements with the party's wise domestic and foreign policy and the theoretical and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The recent elections to the union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and the local soviets were a striking new demonstration of the Soviet people's unshakable cohesion around the party. They developed into a moving celebration of socialist democracy and expressed Soviet people's single aspiration to strengthen our motherland's economic and defense might by persevering, persistent labor. The electorate again unanimously cast its vote for representatives of the indestructible bloc of communists and nonparty people and for the first, nationwide candidate--Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The outstanding political figure and statesmen of the present day, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko is making a tremendous contribution to the development of the party's strategy and tactics at the current stage and the fundamental concept of improvement of the society of developed socialism. By his multifaceted activity for the good of our great fatherland and the community of socialist countries and constant struggle for peace throughout the world Konstantin Ustinovich has deservedly won high authority and profound respect among Soviet people and all progressive mankind.

On the day of our holiday I would like on behalf of the republic's workers to wholeheartedly thank Konstantin Ustinovich for the constant attention and paternal concern for Soviet Azerbaijan and the multiplication of its economic and intellectual potential. True to their illustrious revolutionary, combat and labor traditions, the Azerbaijani working people assure the party, the

the motherland and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko personally that, inspired by the award, they will continue to exert all their powers, capabilities and energy to cross new frontiers in communist creation.

We express sincere gratitude to respected Veniamin Emmanuilovich Dymshits, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for the high evaluation and warm words and kind wishes to the republic's working people and the Azerbaijan party organization. At the same time we accept fully the critical remarks, advice and wishes expressed by Comrade Dymshits and will adopt measures to further improve our work, particularly in capital construction.

Comrades! The achievements of Soviet Azerbaijan, like each union republic, are the practical result of the unswerving implementation of the party's Leninist national policy and the friendship, fraternity and mutual assistance of all peoples of our country. As an inalienable component of the Soviet Union's national economy, Azerbaijan's economy, as the results of 1984 and 4 years of the 5-year plan show graphically, is continuing to develop dynamically and at a high pace, markedly ahead of the outlines of the 5-year plan. They are testimony to the increased expertise of our workers, the broad sweep of socialist competition, the spread of progressive work methods and a further improvement in the party organization's organizing and political work.

It may be said with complete confidence that a most important factor which contributed to the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socioeconomic development were the enhancement of organization and order at all levels and the positive results in implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "The Intensification of Work To Strengthen Socialist Labor Discipline" and the decisions of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenum on this question.

Relying on the accumulated wealth of experience, the republic's workers are tackling increasingly complex and responsible tasks with every succeeding year. It is sufficient to say that in the 4 years the volume of industrial production in the republic increased 24.3 percent, which was higher than the 5-year plan outlines, while agricultural production increased 31.6 percent compared with the target of 12.9 percent. It is very important that the plans and socialist pledges of 1984 and all 4 years of the 5-year plan were fulfilled in all the main indicators. And we regard this as a principal result of the multifaceted activity of Azerbaijan's party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic-planning authorities.

We are pleased that the winners of all-union socialist competition included together with the republic the Nakhichevan ASSR, the city of Mingeçaur, Baku's Leninskiy Rayon, Bardinskiy, Khanlarshiy and Shekinskiy rayons and 38 collectives of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, research institutions and construction organizations, which were also awarded Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee challenge red banners.

The labor successes of 15 cities and rayons and 108 collectives were commended in republic socialist competition by Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions and Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee red banners. Many associations and enterprises were winners in labor rivalry within their sectors and departments.

Permit me to wholeheartedly congratulate all socialist competition winners and wish them new accomplishments and the successful fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges for 1985 and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan. Thank you, dear comrades, for selfless labor for the good of our Soviet fatherland.

The past year has entered as a bright page our republic's labor annals. The AzSSR reached the level of the 5-year plan targets in terms of rate of growth of national income, the commissioning of fixed capital and the manufacture of many of the most important products. The socialist pledges pertaining to an above-plan increase in labor productivity and a reduction in prime costs were fulfilled.

The industrial production growth rate remained high. In terms of this indicator many cities and rayons, ministries, departments, associations and enterprises reached the level of the targets of the final year of the 5-year plan ahead of schedule.

In the sum total of ingredients of production efficiency an important place belongs, as is known, to labor productivity. Since the start of the 5-year plan this indicator has increased 17.8 percent in the republic's industry, which is in line with the target. Practically all the targets with respect to economies in the most important resources were met. The savings thus derived contributed to a reduction in material expenditure per ruble of commodity output in industry as a whole.

The enterprises and associations participating in the economic experiment operated steadily and at a good level. The indicators reflecting the final results of the work of the collective, including the fulfillment of pledges pertaining to product supplies, a reduction in prime costs, a growth of labor productivity and the manufacture of products of the top-quality category were appreciably higher at them than at others. The plan for the production of consumer goods and the quotas for the manufacture of the majority of basic necessities and goods in mass demand determined by the corresponding CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees were fulfilled.

Thus true to their word given the motherland, Azerbaijan's industrial workers coped last year with the socialist pledges in all technical-economic indicators. The results they achieved testify convincingly that the economy of the republic, as of the whole country, has directly approached the boundary at which qualitative improvements and changes therein have become, so to speak, an imperative necessity.

Comrades! Transport and communications are rightly figuratively compared with the circulatory system, ensuring the normal operation of the entire economic organism. Striving for the complete and timely satisfaction of the need of the national economy and the public for transportation and communications

services, the labor collectives fulfilled the plans and socialist pledges of fourth year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Over 2 million tons of national economic freight and 3 million passengers were transported supplementary to the target, and almost R250,000 of above-plan proceeds from communications services were obtained.

We note with satisfaction that in 1984 the construction workers also coped successfully with the accomplishment of tasks connected with the republic's further socioeconomic development. Compared with 1983 state capital investments grew only 1 percent, while the commissioning of fixed capital, the total value of which amounted to R2.6 billion, increased 12 percent. These proportions reflect a trend of the intensification of construction.

The lagging of housing construction was overcome. Over 1.7 million square meters of housing are being commissioned from all sources of financing for the second year now, which is a promising prerequisite of the further growth of this important indicator. The planned commissioning of general educational schools, children's preschool establishments, hospitals and other social facilities was also secured in 1984.

I would like today to again and again warmly thank Azerbaijan's heroic working class for its outstanding contribution to the republic's fulfillment of the socialist pledges and the victory won in all-union socialist competition and to wish it new, even more striking accomplishments.

Comrades! The workers of Azerbaijan's countryside and the republic's entire agrarian-industrial complex marked 1984 with glorious labor successes. Last year's climatic conditions were unpropitious for agriculture. The late spring, the downpours and mud flows and the severest drought in the summer complicated work in the fields and at the livestock units considerably and did considerable damage to the sown areas and perennial plantations. Having counterposed to the elements high organization, willpower and experience, the rural workers preserved an abundant harvest and conducted the harvesting and laying in thereof skillfully. The high awareness of public duty and increased expertise ensured the successful fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges for the production and sale to the state of all agricultural products.

The sector's gross product amounted to R2.9 billion, which was 20 percent more than planned. It increased 40 percent compared with the average annual volume of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The 11th Five-Year Plan quotas for purchases of cotton, grapes, fruit, potatoes and green tea leaf were met ahead of schedule--in 4 years.

Our stockbreeders reached new frontiers. Implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum and the comprehensive program of the development of animal husbandry and fodder production drawn up by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenum in March 1982, they achieved a pronounced increase in the production of products of the livestock units and a strengthening of the sector's fodder resources. Purchases of livestock and poultry increased last year 7 percent, of milk 4 percent, eggs 9 percent and wool 2 percent, and considerably more of these products was sold the state than envisaged by the plan.



The highly efficient, creative work of the rural workers, who fulfilled the plans and socialist pledges ahead of schedule, was highly appraised by the CPSU Central Committee, which warmly congratulated the republic's working people on the big labor victory.

Agrarian industry worked well last year. The annual program of industrial production was overfulfilled. The growth rate of the production of the commodity product constituted 4.4 percent, and labor productivity increased 4.6 percent.

The republic's reclamation workers made an impressive contribution to the agricultural workers' achievements. Powerful impetus was imparted to their work by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October (1984) Plenum and Comrade K.U. Chernenko's directions expressed at the Central Committee plenum.

Permit me to express cordial gratitude and acknowledgments to our illustrious rural workers for their selfless labor and to wish them strong health and big new successes for the good of our motherland.

Much was also done in 1984 on implementation of the vast social program of a further rise in the people's well-being put forward by the party. Real income per capita rose by more than 4 percent. The average monthly wages of workers and employees and kolkhoz members' pay increased, as did the payments and benefits from the social consumption funds. Commodity turnover increased 5.4 percent, consumer services 8 percent.

I would like to express words of sincere gratitude to workers of the services sphere for the effective assistance to the workers of city and countryside in tackling the tasks confronting them.

Our scientists, figures of literature and art and workers of the health service, public education and the higher school participated actively in the struggle for realization of the plans of socioeconomic building. We are wholeheartedly grateful to our illustrious intelligentsia for being true to its duty and for the ability to contribute by word and deed to the implementation of the party's plans.

I would like to express words of great gratitude to all party organizations, which headed the people's labor enthusiasm, the soviet, trade union and Komsomol authorities, our ideological personnel and the mass media for the ability to organize socialist competition for the high efficiency and quality of work.

We express particular gratitude to the party committees-obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms--which bear the main responsibility for the accomplishment of all the economic and sociopolitical tasks and directives of the CPSU Central Committee.

We also express profound gratitude to the workers of the people's control and law enforcement authorities, who contributed to a considerable extent to the strict observance of legality and order in all areas of the economy, and to our constant assistants--the fighters of the Soviet Armed Forces.

In all areas of economic and cultural building a tremendous role is performed by Azerbaijan's illustrious women. We value highly their contribution to the republic's achievements and are cordially grateful for the valorous labor, warmth and magnanimity and for everything which their good hands perform at work and in the home. Taking advantage of the occasion, we wholeheartedly congratulate our mothers, wives and sisters on the impending splendid holiday--International Women's Day of 8 March.

Comrades! The achievements of Soviet Azerbaijan, as of all the union republics, are, in Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's words, "tangible evidence that our economy is moving toward a qualitatively new frontier of its development." And this raises our responsibility many times over and makes it incumbent upon us to work even better and even more efficiently and strive for new successes in order to honorably accomplish the tasks which have been set us.

The 11th Five-Year Plan has reached, figuratively speaking, the finishing line. At its present, particularly critical stage it is very important to interpret and evaluate accumulated experience, consolidate everything positive in work, learn the lessons from existing shortcomings and determine ways to remove them.

The scale of work in the final year of the 5-year plan is determined by the plan of the republic's economic and social development and the high socialist pledges. In terms of total national income it will reach the R10 billion mark in 1985, and its growth rate over the 5-year period will constitute 29 percent. The industrial production growth rate in 1985 is to constitute 4.4 percent compared with the preceding year, which corresponds to the 5-year plan outlines.

The plans are, as you can see, big and responsible. But Azerbaijan's working people are fully resolved to outstrip time and meet the 5-year target in respect of the growth rate of total industrial production in 4 years 10 months--by the 68th anniversary of the Great October!

It is planned in the socialist pledges of the AzSSR's working people for 1985 on the basis of an intensification of production, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the efficient use of the economic potential which has been created and the utmost strengthening of discipline to surpass the year's targets in all basic indicators and to achieve in the national economy as a whole above-plan labor productivity growth of 1 percent.

It is gratifying that in terms of the results of 2 months the republic's industry coped with the targets with respect to the sale and production of products and all the basic technical-economic indicators. At the same time, however, our successes could have been considerably greater if fuller use had been made of available potential and work had been performed more persistently on an improvement in the organization of labor and management and the introduction in practice of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

The task of the party organizations, soviets and economic-planning authorities is to stimulate organizing, economic and educational work in the labor collectives and step up the creative quest for reserves aimed at the intensification of production and the achievement of high end results.

Persistently perfecting the style of their activity, the party committees, as Comrade K.U. Chernenko emphasizes, are called on to also actively influence the style of work of the state and economic-planning authorities.

"Influence primarily by the exemplary organization of their own work and increased exactingness. It is essential," Konstantin Ustinovich points out, "to tighten up particularly responsibility for slackness and violations of performance discipline. Without the strictest discipline the finest decisions and intentions remain merely pious wishes."

The final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan must be a turning point for the republic's oil and gas industry. And this will depend primarily on the precise, stable operation of each oil and gas and drilling administration and on the level of organizing work in all sectors of oil production. As confirmed by the recent meeting of party-economic activists, we have every opportunity for a further growth of the volume of oil and gas production, and the main thing today is to organize work in this area skillfully and purposefully.

No less important is the task of the efficient use of crude. The republic's oil refiners must strive for the maximum recovery of light oil products and reduce oil losses during refining. At chemical and petrochemical industry enterprises it is necessary to concentrate efforts on the purposeful implementation of a retooling program and an increase in the manufacture of the end and progressive types of product, which will make it possible to ensure the sector's continued development and raise it to a higher quality level.

The republic's engineering will reach new frontiers. The growth rate of the sector's production volume will be no less than 10 percent, which will make it possible to reach the level prescribed by the 5-year plan. It is essential for this to ensure the accelerated assimilation of newly introduced and the maximum load of operating capacity, make more efficient use of fixed capital, raise the equipment shift-work coefficient, introduce resource-saving, low-waste and waste-free technology more boldly and constantly raise the technical level and quality of the manufactured machinery, equipment and instruments.

Complex and crucial tasks have to be tackled by workers of group "B" enterprises. It is essential that ministry and department leaders and the party and soviet authorities locally step up organizing and political work on fulfillment of the party and government decisions aimed at an increase in the production and an improvement in the selection and quality of consumer goods.

As is known, the republic's labor collectives supported the patriotic initiative of the country's foremost enterprises--working in the present year for no less than 2 days on economized materials, fuel and energy. And this is good. However, the present level of the use of resources which has evolved at certain enterprises and in associations is still far from the demands of the day. It is the task of the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic-planning authorities to step up the struggle for economies everywhere and in all things. Thrift is an inalienable feature of high civicism and a conscious, truly communist attitude toward work, and we must inculcate these qualities in each worker constantly.

Under the conditions of the present harsh winter big trials have fallen to the lot of the transport and communications enterprise workers. Transportation workers, particularly railroad men, are obliged to adopt measures for the on-schedule transportation, regardless of weather conditions, of national economic freight, primarily fuel and mineral fertilizer. The quality and standard of service of the public at stations and along the travel line and communications services need to be enhanced considerably.

Much has to be done by the thousands-strong army of Azerbaijan's construction workers. In the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan it is intended commissioning fixed capital to the value of over R2.3 billion, which is more than was achieved in 1984, including the fifth unit for 300,000 kilowatt-hours at the Azerbaijan GRES, the 162-kilometer Yevlakh--Belokany railroad line, several Baku Metro stations and capacity in the chemical, petrochemical, automotive and electrical engineering industries, and beginning the construction of an AES and an auto assembly plant for the manufacture of light trucks. The republic's agrarian-industrial complex will be further developed. Dozens of facilities envisaged by the Food Program will be commissioned.

It is planned via all sources of financing, including individual construction, to commission more than 2 million squaremeters of living space. An expansion of the network of schools, preschool establishments, vocational-technical schools and hospitals is envisaged. The construction of a large oncological center will begin and the construction of the Sports Palace in Baku and the development of the master plan of the creation of resorts of all-union significance on the Caspian shore will continue. Water supply, sewerage, gas supply, heating and hotel facilities will be further developed.

Agricultural workers have begun the year well as a whole. The livestock wintering is proceeding in organized fashion and production and procurements and the productiveness of livestock and poultry are growing. But this is no grounds for complacency and equability. The drop in temperature and the abundant snowfalls and rain demand the even greater mobilization of the stockbreeders' efforts and the organized performance of the entire set of operations at the livestock units. The party, soviet and economic-planning authorities should step up the demands made on kolkhoz and sovkhos leaders and specialists and enhance communists' responsibility for the state of affairs in animal husbandry, the precise performance of the wintering and the creation of the necessary production and social conditions for the stockbreeders.

Stockbreeders' all-union socialist competition in the winter period has been conducted four times, and our republic has been among its winners each time. There is a real basis for success in the results of the current wintering also. It is the duty of the stockbreeders and all workers of the republic's agrarian sector to realize these opportunities!

A most important task is the high-grade performance of the spring field campaign. As a check has shown, the preparations for the spring sowing are proceeding in organized manner here. The fall plowing was completed within the optimum times on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, in the main, and the requisite quantity of seeds has been laid in. A number of other operations are being performed more rapidly than last year.

At the same time great sluggishness is being permitted on certain farms and in certain rayons in the preparations for the sowing. There is a lack of due promptitude in transporting the allocated seeds. The pace of the watering and the application of organic and mineral fertilizer is slow in a number of rayons. The due readiness of equipment for the field work has not been ensured everywhere.

It is essential that in the next few days the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, agricultural ministries and departments and the agrarian-industrial associations remove the shortcomings, ensure the completion of all preparatory work for the spring sowing and strive for the organized, high-quality performance thereof.

Particular concern should be displayed for the winter field and the timely performance of work in fodder production, in the orchards and vineyards and in vegetable growing and other sectors. In a work, it is necessary to do everything to fittingly complete the 5-year plan and strive for a further increase in the gross harvests of grain, cotton, grapes, vegetables and other crops, an increase in the production of coarse and succulent fodder and the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges by each kolkhoz and sovkhoz based on the introduction of consummate techniques of the cultivation of agricultural crops, an increase in the yield of the land, particularly improved land, and the efficient use of the production potential that has been created in the countryside.

Comrades! In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session of 15 November 1984 K.U. Chernenko concentrated attention on the measures which are required for the complete and successful fulfillment of the plans for 1985 and the current 5-year plan and the need to create favorable conditions for the even more dynamic development of the Soviet economy in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The set tasks are difficult, but perfectly realistic. We need to pull up and improve many things and increase intensity in places to accomplish them. And the example of the production pacesetters and innovators--primarily the winners of all-union and republic socialist competition--is called on to play an inestimable part here. We must make skillful use of the high political and labor mood of the masses and the endeavor of the republic's working people to fittingly greet the 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Azerbaijan CP Congress and to commemorate with new labor accomplishments the all-union Leninist communist voluntary unpaid Saturday work day, the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory and the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement.

Comrades! The red banner of the motherland presented to the republic inspires and calls to new victories. And the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee is sure that the working people will exert all their powers and expertise to ensure that in terms of the results of 1985 our republic again be among the winners of all-union socialist competition.

Permit me to assure the party Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Soviet Government and Comrade K.U. Chernenko personally that the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of Soviet Azerbaijan will do everything to honorably fulfill the plans and socialist pledges of the final

year and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan and worthily greet the 27th congress of our own Lenin Party and the 31st congress of the republic Communist Party.

Glory to the valiant workers of Soviet Azerbaijan!

Long live our great motherland--the USSR!

Honor and glory to the CPSU--inspiration and organizer of all our victories!

(The speeches of Comrades V.E. Dymshits and K.M. Bagirov were received with great attention and were repeatedly interrupted by stormy, prolonged applause)

Hero of Socialist Labor A.M. Amanov, drilling foreman of the Ali-Bayramly Drilling Operations Administration, mounted the rostrum.

A feeling of great joy and pride fills the hearts of Azerbaijan's working people, who have achieved high results in fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges of the fourth year of the 5-year plan, he said. The republic's successes in economic and cultural building and its contribution to the development of the country's single national economic complex have been evaluated highly by the party and government. For the 15th year running the AzSSR has been a winner of socialist competition and has been awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banner.

We were all moved to the depths of our hearts by the warm greetings and congratulations of Comrade K.U. Chernenko. We beg to convey to dear Konstantin Ustinovich on behalf of all the republic's working people cordial thanks for the constant attention and concern for the prosperity of Soviet Azerbaijan and the happiness and welfare of working people.

The big labor victory is all the more impressive in that it was achieved in a period when the Azerbaijan working people, like all Soviet people, have initiated active preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory and the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement.

Having mentioned the worthy contribution to the republic's accomplishments of the oilmen--the foremost detachment of Azerbaijan's working class--the speaker described the achievements of his collective, which coped with the 5-year quota ahead of schedule, and the widespread socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges of the final year and the entire 5-year plan. The motherland's high award, he said, inspires us to new labor victories and makes it incumbent upon us to work even better. And we workers will give all our powers, knowledge and experience in the name of the realization of the party's magnificent designs.

We are all today filled with a sense of pride in our red banner republic, which is making an impressive contribution to the successes of the entire country, Sh.M. Rzayev, leader of a comprehensively mechanized cotton growers' brigade of Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon's "Tadzhikistan" Kolkhoz, hero of socialist labor and AzSSR State Prize winner, said.

We say today with filial gratitude that the victory we have achieved is primarily the result of the concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko personally for the Azerbaijani people and the great assistance which is daily rendered the party organization of our multinational republic, which is true to its rich revolutionary, labor traditions. This victory is also the result of the unflagging purposeful activity of the republic party organization and the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the inspired labor of all the republic's working people.

The cotton growers, who coped honorably with the tasks set by the party, also worked in shock fashion to achieve success. In the past 4 years they have sold the state more than 3.5 million tons of cotton, having overfulfilled the 5-year quota.

The collective of the Order of the "Symbol of Honor" "Tadzhikistan" Kolkhoz and the brigade which I lead also worked well last year. The state was sold more than 10,500 tons of cotton. I myself harvested 602 tons of raw cotton.

Despite the unfavorable weather conditions, the struggle has begun even now for the present year's high harvest. The republic's workers are living with the concerns of the final year of the 5-year plan, a year packed with major sociopolitical events. The new task is to emerge as winners of all-union socialist competition in 1985 also and to make the 11th Five-Year Plan a red banner one. The workers of our rayon have adopted high socialist pledges and are fully resolved to fulfill them with honor. Intensive preparations for the spring sowing are under way currently. We give the assurance that we will spread socialist competition in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory even more widely and do everything to ensure that our motherland become increasingly powerful and that people's life become increasingly fine.

Our meeting is being held at a time when the republic's working people, like the entire Soviet people, are selflessly struggling for the successful fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges of the final year and the whole 5-year plan, G.N. Khlebunova, instrument control operator at the Sumgait "Khimprom" Association and AzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy, said. Perceiving the party's plans as their own, vital concern, they are sparing no forces or energy for their realization.

It is the 15th year running now that our republic has carried the red banner baton. We workers are well aware that this is the result not only of the selfless work of the republic's workers but also of the multifaceted purposeful organizing and political activity of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and its Bureau.

Having reported the successes of her work comrades, for whom outpacing the work timetable has become a good tradition, the speaker noted with satisfaction the social changes which had occurred in Sumgait recently. The amount of housing and sociocultural construction grows from year to year, and the city's appearance is becoming prettier. This concern for the working people, she said, increases our concern and responsibility for the common cause. And for this reason I would like to work even better and more productively and with the full input of my powers and knowledge.

The tasks confronting chemical workers in the final year of the 5-year plan are not simple. It will be necessary to work with sleeves rolled up and to activate potential in order to fulfill them. It is to the accomplishment of this that communists and the collectives of all shops and sections of the association are being directed today.

From year to year Azerbaijan's working people are striving for increasingly new splendid accomplishments, L.I. Mukhtarov, leader of a brigade of Tauzskiy Rayon's Sovkhoz imeni M.B. Kasumov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and Azerbaijan State Prize winner, said. No exception was the fourth year of the 5-year plan, in terms of the results of which our republic was again among the winners of all-union socialist competition. We express cordial gratitude for the high evaluation of our labor to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, close friend of our people and relentless fighter for peace. We give the assurance that we will honorably accomplish all the Lenin Party's magnificent designs.

Inspired by the concern of the party and government, Azerbaijan's viticulturists fulfilled the 5-year plan in 4 years. In 1984 alone the state was sold more than 2 million tons of the harvest. This is a truly historic victory for red banner Azerbaijan.

Together with the other farms of the republic the workers of the sovkhoz imeni M.B. Kasumov, where I work, also took part in the conquest of this pinnacle. A winner in all-union socialist competition, our farm has been awarded the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee Challenge Red Banner.

Our brigade fulfilled the 5-year plan in 3 years, and the yield per hectare has been raised to 275 quintals. However, we are not thinking of stopping at what has been achieved and are outlining plans for a further increase in the production and sale to the state of the amber bunches. The rural workers are fully resolved to do everything to ensure that the 11th Five-Year Plan also be a red banner one for Azerbaijan.

On behalf of the writers and the entire intelligentsia of the republic cordial congratulations on the high award were conveyed by the poet Fikret Godzha, arts figure of Azerbaijan emeritus and republic Komsomol Prize winner.

The red banner of the motherland won for the 15th year in succession, he said, is a striking symbol of our people's glorious labor accomplishments. It is a new manifestation of the attention and concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, personally for the burgeoning of our republic.

The Azerbaijan working people are struggling perseveringly to accomplish the big and crucial tasks set by the party. Each of us has worked conscientiously in the name of achieving victory. The red banner is the personification of the selfless labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia and the purposeful activity of the republic party organization.



But even at this moment, when the republic has only just been presented with the glorious banner, we are not resting content for an instant. At this very moment intensive work is under way in the fields and at the livestock units, plants and factories and at construction sites. In the hearts of our people burns the flame of impending accomplishments, in their minds new victorious plans are maturing. Today we have received a deserved award, but the assured path toward a new victorious pinnacle began yesterday even.

The Azerbaijani people's coming successes can be seen in how they are advancing and in the confident stride. Our people are accustomed to winning and know the taste of victory. And I am sure that they will always be in the ranks of competition winners.

We are the successors of those who in the harsh years of the Great Patriotic War defended the happiness of living and working under peaceful skies, G.R. Tagi-zade, student at the Azerbaijan Polytechnical Institute imeni Ch. Il'drym and AzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy, said. Our strength lies in the continuity of the generations and profound ideological conviction. We have people to match up against, people to take as an example.

All the conditions for all-around development have been created for the younger generation of the great Soviet power. I grew up in a worker's family. My biography is largely similar to the happy fate of my coevals. While working following graduation from the vocational-technical school, I firmly resolved to continue my studies and become a highly skilled specialist. My future--robotics engineer--is very necessary and important for the republic's national economy.

On behalf of Komsomol members and the thousands-strong detachment of students of the republic the young woman expressed cordial gratitude to the Communist Party for the constant attention to and concern for the youth and for the fact that it is entrusted with tackling most important state tasks. The recent soviet elections, in the course of which approximately 11,000 representatives of Azerbaijan's Komsomol were elected to the organs of state power, are confirmation of this.

The speaker gave the assurance that the Komsomol members and all young men and women of the republic will continue to remain loyal to the splendid traditions of the Azerbaijani working people and will spare no forces, energy or knowledge to multiply them.

With great enthusiasm the participants in the ceremonial meeting adopted a letter of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A concert was performed in conclusion.

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REGIONAL

NABIYEV ON WORK WITH CADRES, OTHER SUBJECTS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 2 Apr 85 p 3

[Speech by R. N. Nabiyeu, first secretary of the Tajikistan CP Central Committee: "Concluding Statement by Comrade R. N. Nabiyeu"]

[Text] Comrades! Today we discussed in a practical and fundamental way a very important issue, and we mapped out measures on improving work with cadres. And cadres, it is said, decide everything. Now the most important thing is in having the decree which was adopted by us supported by concrete political and organizational work of our party organizations and irrevocably put into practice.

Success here is directly and immediately connected with a further strengthening of discipline and order in all of our work. As you know, recently there was an examination of measures to further strengthen party, state, labor, production, and social discipline in the Tajik SSR. In this connection, a plan of measures has been worked out and approved. Today, in view of the criticism at the plenum, there is a direct necessity for once again seeing how these measures are being carried out; moreover, for looking at this matter in the light of the demands of the Special March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and of the directives and instructions which follow from the speech at the plenum by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev.

An acquaintance with the work of many enterprises, organizations, and institutions makes it possible to say that far from everywhere has production and labor discipline been genuinely set up. This is testified to by a large number of examples which were cited at the plenum. Incidentally, they also concern the activities of party, state, planning, financial, and other agencies.

The necessary order has to be brought into these matters more rapidly. And here I am addressing above all the secretaries of the obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the secretaries of the primary party organizations, and all comrades who participated in the work of the plenum.

Speaking of the importance of a further increase in organization and discipline, special mention should be made of the importance of labor collectives in this matter. At one time the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan approved a plan of organizational and political measures aimed at realizing the Law of the USSR on labor collectives and increasing their role in the management of enterprises, institutions, and organizations. In accordance with it, a certain amount of work is being carried out in the republic; however not everywhere does it have a planned and purposeful character.

After the republic conference of the workers of the agro-industrial complex which took place on 10 March of this year, we again called the attention of party committee secretaries to these matters. Today I would once again like to ask you, comrades, to engage in the most serious manner in increasing the role of labor collectives in all of the spheres of production and social life.

Another question which also is related to setting up the proper order in work concerns the ordering of the work of every kind of our commissions and headquarters. At a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and before this, at meetings of the Secretariat and the Bureau of the Central Committee there had been talk of the fact that we do much, sometimes without any special necessity, to create such formations, and then feel reassured, hoping that they will work. But after a time they themselves forget the reasons for which they had been created. And in the final analysis things stand in one place.

Therefore, let us once again see what kinds of commissions and what kinds of headquarters we have, and are they needed or unneeded. Once at a plenum of the communist Party of Tajikistan we cited an example in which out of one of the rayons of Leninabad Oblast the ispolkom created another headquarters led by the chief of the rayon water resources unit. And he was commissioned with taking charge of the check of the use of irrigation water. But, without this the rayon water resources unit and its headquarters are obliged to do this work. And such facts, unfortunately, are not isolated ones.

This matter has to be looked into more deeply. If indeed some headquarters or commission is needed, then let them do their work, but then it is necessary to periodically hear their reports about the work they are doing.

Today at the plenum a great deal has been said, and said with complete justice, about the necessity for increasing the demands upon leading cadres, and their responsibility for the work sector with which they have been charged. In this important matter we--I have in view the party committees--have to above all increase the role of the primary party organizations. The party demands that a communist, whether he be a leader or an ordinary official, must, if he has committed a misdeed or displayed a lack of discipline, give an account of himself in the first place to the primary party organization in which he is registered, and to the communists with whom he works.

But with us, unfortunately, it sometimes turns out that the primary party organization does not even know about this, since such questions, when they concern leaders, are frequently examined by the party gorkom or raykom or even by higher party committees. This practice must be stopped, and these questions must be examined beginning with the primary party organization.

And now the last item I would like to speak about in conclusion. The first quarter of the year is coming to an end, and everything has to be done so that the planning assignments of the first three months are fulfilled and overfulfilled by all branches. This should be the concern first of all of the ministries and departments, their boards, and of the local party, government, and economic agencies. Especial attention should be directed toward the course of the procurement of cropping and animal husbandry output. We are alarmed, for example, by the fact that recently in a number of rayons, and above all of Kurgan-Tyube Oblast there has been a decrease in the production of milk. Conclusions should be drawn from this. The results of the quarter will be examined at the Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan where high demands will be made upon everybody.

The situation in capital construction is also developing poorly. In any case, from many indicators the results of two months were somewhat worse than last year. It is now important to look also into this matter, to take effective measures to improve work during the second quarter so that the basic indicators of the first half year are significantly higher than last year's.

It has to be kept in mind, comrades, that this year we have four work days less than last year, and each of them means tens of millions of rubles worth of output. For this reason, we have to work with redoubled energy making maximum use of our possibilities.

In this connection, especial attention should be directed to the non-fulfillment of the plan for the first quarter for commodity turnover and municipal services. It is clear that it would be difficult to make up now for what has been lost; therefore, the task is being posed in such a way that the March plan be absolutely fulfilled.

This is an especially responsible time now for our rural workers. We spoke about this in detail in Leninabad at the plenum of the party obkom. Now I would like to address myself to the leaders of other oblasts and rayons of republic subordination. Everything possible has to be done so that this year the spring field work is conducted on the highest agrotechnical level; we have no other reserve. It is on this basis, and also on the basis of raising the standard of farming that we will be able to achieve an increase in the yields of all agricultural crops and ensure the absolute fulfillment of this year's plan and of the five-year plan as a whole.

REGIONAL

NABIYEV EMPHASIZES WORK WITH CADRES AT OBKOM MEETING

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 10 Apr 85 pp 1, 2

[Text of address by R. N. Nabiyev, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, at the plenum of the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast party committee on 8 April]

[Text] As has been reported on 8 April there was a Plenum of the Kurgan-Tyubinsk party obkom at which the first secretary of the Tadzhik CP Central Committee R. N. Nabiyev delivered a long speech. His speech is published below.

Comrades!

The party's oblast committee plenum today examines one of the key questions in the life of the party. Work with personnel is continuously at the center of attention for the oblast party organization and the party's gorkoms and raykoms. And this is understandable. It is namely the personnel who bring about the practical realization of party policy and solution of the economic and sociocultural tasks which confront us.

The work being carried out to select and educate personnel in the oblast has been dealt with comprehensively and extensively in the report by Comrade A. K. Kasimov, first secretary of the party obkom, and in speeches by plenum participants.

It is quite correct that plenum participants have devoted attention primarily to the tasks ahead, the unresolved problems and shortcomings. Further improvement in work with personnel and elimination of the deficiencies which exist in this area unquestionably will contribute to successful solution of all the economic and political tasks which face communists and all workers in the oblast. And you yourselves understand that this now takes on particular significance in light of the increasing demands of the party and the aims of the special March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum, which confirmed the immutability of the party's course, elaborated by the 26th congress and by subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, demanded that party and state organs and public organizations and all links in the national economic mechanism turn resolutely to shifting the economy to the path of intensified acceleration of the socioeconomic development of Soviet society.

And there is no doubt that the principal decisive role here belongs primarily to the supervisory personnel who have been called upon to carry out party policy in the work sectors with which they have been entrusted.

An important and businesslike discussion about precisely this was held at the recent plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, which reviewed the tasks of the republic's party organization to further improve work with personnel in light of the party's current requirements. Today the plenum of the Kurgan-Tyube Oblast party organization--one of the militant detachments of the CPSU--is engaged in this important work.

Today there is every reason to say that a considerable amount of work with personnel is being carried out in the oblast. In recent years, especially following the 26th CPSU Congress, the quality of party, soviet, trade union and Kom-somol personnel, as well as economic personnel, has improved a great deal.

Many party committees are correctly resolving personnel problems on the whole, and this is making it possible to approach solution of problems in managing the economy in a skilled manner, to improve the style and methods of activity, and to enhance the role of primary party organizations.

Of course, this does not mean that you do not have shortcomings and unresolved problems in work with personnel, especially if this matter is approached from the positions of those high demands which the party is making today. But in the final analysis, the net result is the demand that all sectors of economic and cultural construction be headed by politically mature managers who know their work well, who possess high moral qualities, who enjoy authority among the masses, and who are capable of successfully carrying out the party's policy. But this can be achieved only under conditions of strict observance of the Leninist principles of work with personnel.

The main criterion by which the level of management must be judged today is concrete practical results, and mainly in economic and cultural construction. The innovation and complexity of the tasks being advanced by the party into a period of further improvement in developed socialism and an advanced level of the people's education and culture dictate higher demands on personnel, on their businesslike and professional qualities and their ideological and moral makeup.

And first and foremost, emphasized Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, this concerns party personnel and party and state leaders. It is precisely they who have been called upon to consolidate a Leninist style in work everywhere, in all our affairs, and to be an example of model service to the Motherland and the cause of the party.

In carrying out the decisions of the 26th congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the oblast party organization has markedly improved the composition of designated personnel.

Data cited in the report on the educational level and vocational preparation of personnel and their placement in decisive sectors of economic and cultural construction attest to this.

However, there are still quite a few shortcomings in this work, too. In resolving personnel matters, party committees are not always carrying out the party line with enough consistency and persistence. Facts have been cited here which show that when workers are advanced, their businesslike and political qualities often are not thoroughly studied, and sometimes there is not enough exactingness and a principled party approach in these matters.

The extensive replacement of personnel and the many cases of violations of state and party discipline which sometimes are the consequence when they are hastily advanced attest to this, in particular. This is happening on both the oblast and city and rayon levels.

Last year alone in the oblast more than 800 designated employees, or one out of five, were replaced. This included 40 persons who were released for different violations and abuses. As already stated, this has been especially characteristic of the Kuybyshevskiy Raykom and the Kurgan-Tyubinskiy Gorkom of the party, where 84 and 94 percent of the designated personnel have been replaced over the past 4 years. At the same time, it should be noted that there has not been substantial improvement in the quality of their composition. And it is well known where frequent and unjustified replacement leads. This gives rise to irresponsibility, weakens discipline, and to a certain extent disorganizes the work of labor collectives.

Certain underevaluation for advancement to management posts, and principally to the party organization, of specialists, women and young people who have proved themselves well in practical affairs is important work that is unfinished.

There are few national economy specialists among the complement of instructors in the Vakhshskiy, Kabodiyenskiy, Dzhilikul'skiy and Kommunisticheskiy raykoms of the party, and it is even worse in the city of Kurgan-Tyube and Il'ichevskiy Rayon. More than 5 percent of the obkom employees do not have a higher education.

The obkom, gorkom and raykoms of the party have relaxed their attention lately to the advancement of female personnel. Over the past 2 years their number among instructors of the party gorkom and raykoms has even been reduced by 26 percent. There are none at all in the Il'ichevskiy Raykom and certain other party raykoms.

Women constitute only 13 percent of the designated employees in the oblast, and this indicator is even lower for the party obkom itself--12 percent.

Such a situation cannot be considered normal, and this was stated pointedly at the plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

I would like to dwell in more detail on the high demands being made by the party of the moral qualities of personnel, especially management employees. This is an important and political matter, the CPSU Central Committee stresses, a question of the strength of the party's link with the masses, as a matter of fact. Unfortunately, some employees are neglecting or insufficiently comprehend the whole point of the matter; this was stated correctly at today's plenum.

Cases of incorrect conduct by communists, including managers, which exist in the oblast are causing especially great moral harm. The significant number of those excluded from the ranks of the CPSU for violations of Party Rules cannot but give rise to concern, for example.

Over the past 4 years, about 200 persons--more than half of whom, let us say frankly, were not ordinary persons--left the party from the oblast party organization.

In the past year alone, 70 managers were penalized or fined by people's control organs and 74 were punished in the party system. In the first quarter of this year, eight communist managers already have received party penalties and 19 have been punished under the people's control procedure. They were punished mainly for serious misdemeanors, negligence and various abuses. And all this has been taking place in sight of communists, Komsomols and labor collectives.

At times one has to be amazed by the unscrupulousness which is displayed in advancing employees to responsible supervisory positions. And it is natural that this leads to the frequent replacement of personnel and inflicts harm directly on work, and not only economic harm, but moral harm as well.

Yesterday Comrade A. K. Kasimov and I were in Kabodiyenskiy Rayon. At the Kolkhoz imeni K. Marx, four of the kolkhoz' chairmen have been replaced over the past 3 years. At the beginning of 1982, S. Olimov was relieved, then S. Yuldashev worked for 6 months, and was replaced by B. Sultanov.

In February this year, he too was replaced for work disorganization. S. Olimov was again advanced to management of the farm. The question arises: where is the logic here, what was the party's rayon committee managing and where was the obkom looking?

I will cite another example for Yavanskiy Rayon. Comrade Kasimov and I were in this rayon on the second date. Since 1983 here, the "Ovoshchevodskiy" Sovkhoz has been headed by Dzhamitdinov. Last year the farm fulfilled the plan for the sale of vegetables by only 57 percent, and in 1983 it was even less--by 33 percent. And this had to be expected.

The party raykom and the rayispolkom have known for a long time that this manager, while the director of this farm, did not once ensure plan fulfillment as long ago as 1969 to 1975.

True, there was no obkom at that time yet, but today at the plenum we may ask the rayon leadership as a matter of principle: why does it turn out this way, and what have they been supervising in this case?

In the report at the plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee, such examples also were cited, of a kolkhoz chairman whom they are even recommending for party work when he has ruined his affairs and has not provided leadership.



In particular, last year the Kuybyshevskiy Raykom of the party relieved Comrade S. Kasymov, chairman of the "Komsomol" Kolkhoz, from his post, and not for his good work, of course.

And the Il'ichevskiy Raykom recommended him on the spot, also not without the knowledge of the secretary of the neighboring Kuybyshevskiy Raykom and Comrade G. T. Tsyplukhin personally, as well as the party obkom, for the position of leader of communists at the Sovkhoz imeni 24th Party Congress.

Such cases cannot but alert us when certain supervisory employees abuse the trust given to them, by trying to conceal their incompetence, and engage in deception, permit additions and bluffing, and some persons do not even shrink from bribery and extortion. But are these actions always given a proper party evaluation based on principle? Unfortunately, it is difficult at present to give an affirmative answer to this question. Cases exist which attest to the contrary.

In March last year, party member Goibov, former director of technical maintenance station No 6, was convicted by the oblast people's court for additions in bookkeeping and misappropriation of state property. The party gorkom gave him a severe reprimand with an entry on the registration form, but he was released of his own free will. Yesterday we learned that he is now holding a supervisory position--he is working as the chief of the Shaartuz Motor Vehicle Enterprise No 19. The question arises: how could they entrust him with this responsible position?

Manifestations of irresponsibility, or more accurately, prejudice, by personnel of law enforcement organs are particularly intolerable. In 1982, U. Fayzullaev, a senior consultant of the justice department of the Kurgan-Tyube Oblispolkom, was elected judge of the Shaartuzskiy Rayon people's court. But in 1984 he was dismissed for abuse of his official position. The party obkom should investigate this carefully, and those guilty should receive appropriate punishment.

As you see, there are quite a few alerting facts, and there is something to think about here. We can say with certainty that there would be far fewer mistakes in this important work if party obkom, gorkom and raykom employees would strictly adhere to Leninist principles in the selection, placement and education of personnel and would feel a responsibility for damage inflicted on the work when they are violated.

I do not feel there is need to prove the importance of accurate work with personnel designation. However, the practice has taken root here wherein many responsible sectors remain for a long period of time without approved supervisors.

Until now, as the report states, 22 positions of obkom designation and about 60 designated for party committees of the oblast are vacant. Individual supervisory employees are not confirmed for years for the gorkom buro and party raykoms. Thus, as of 1 January 1985, there were about 90 such employees for

obkom designation and more than 200 employees designated for the party gorkom and raykoms. It is no secret that some party committees are doing this because there are questions related to many such employees which cannot always be resolved in a timely manner. But this cannot be tolerated, because such a practice discourages personnel.

Attention also should be devoted to an important matter such as observance of collective leadership in resolving personnel problems.

The party requires that in advancing employees to one position or another, the opinion of party organizations, the collective, and persons who know them well be taken into consideration without fail. In this regard, the importance of references also is increased. However, you will seldom find in certain party committees a businesslike, thorough and objective reference on the personal affairs of designated employees, and one does not have to speak about testimonials, either. This deficiency also must be eliminated.

In the study of personnel, in their education, and in the struggle against any shortcomings we must better utilize an important channel of the party's contact with the masses such as letters and statements by the workers, and their spoken appeals to party, soviet, economic and other organs.

It must be said that quite a few of them come to the CPSU Central Committee and the Tajik CP Central Committee. In them the workers often tell of improper conduct by individual supervisory employees and of an attitude toward the work which is unbecoming a party member.

Much is confirmed in inspection, and this helps us a great deal in eliminating existing shortcomings. The party aims in work with these "human documents," in the Leninist expression, are well-known, and the strictest order must be established here to decisively eliminate manifestations of bureaucratism, formalism and red tape.

But unfortunately, we still encounter such manifestations. The other day the presidium of the republic's council of ministers discussed the status of work to review the suggestions, statements and complaints of citizens and to organize the reception of visitors at the Kolkhoz imeni K. Marx and the kishlak soviet Avangard in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon. I also took part in the discussion, by the way.

Two chairmen made reports--Comrade P. Mamatkulov of the kolkhoz and Comrade Azizov of the kishlak soviet. They are both experienced employees and enjoy the deserved respect of the population.

But in the meantime they evidently have not tried to establish the proper procedure in receiving citizens, approved by the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers. Discussion of the problem showed that a formal bureaucratic approach is being displayed toward many of the workers' appeals, which is generally intolerable, especially when this relates to war veterans and invalids.

Comrade Mamatkulov, for example, turned over many requests and alarms requiring urgent solution to executives and did not follow them through, did not demand a result from them. There also have been cases of executives losing citizens' statements. The work cannot be handled this way.

The shortcomings cited have become possible because the status of work with citizens' letters and the reception of visitors at the Kolkhoz imeni K. Marx has not been examined by the ispolkom of the kishlak soviet for the past 3 years, and practical assistance has not been rendered to it in this. A question suggests itself: if they resolved these matters in their own way in the kishlak soviet and at the kolkhoz, what prevented the oblispolkom from helping to resolve them in the state procedure? After all, both the kolkhoz and the kishlak soviet are situated next to the oblispolkom. The party's oblast committee must take these matters under special supervision.

In examining personnel work today as one of the decisive directions of activity for the oblast party organization, I would like to dwell particularly on the selection, placement and education of economic personnel. Success in fulfillment of our plans depends to a large extent on their ability to think on a large scale and to resolve problems which come up in a timely and state manner.

This is especially important as the oblast's share in the republic's economy is significant and is steadily increasing. It provides more than one-third of all agricultural output, including nearly half of the raw cotton and nearly all the fine-fibered cotton. It has a 13-percent share of the industrial production and as much capital investment.

However, analysis shows that work with personnel is not meeting the increased demands here as well. Take the cotton ginning industry, which provides 57 percent of the oblast's industrial production volume. More than 46 percent of the engineering and technical positions here have been filled by experienced workers, and the situation is even worse with shift chiefs and shift foremen. Nearly the same situation exists in other sectors of industry and in construction. On the whole, one-third of the foremen and construction superintendents are experienced workers.

At the same time, specialists are not working in their assigned specialty. Comrade A. Kasimov cited quite a few such examples in his report: the young specialist M. Makhmaderov, a producer with a higher education, has been working since 1983 as a laborer for the Pyandzhskiy Raysel'komkhoz [rayon rural public utility], and E. A. Valiyev, a public health officer by specialty, has been working as a carpenter in SU-21 [construction administration-21] of the "Kurgan-Tyubestroy" trust. Can we really regard such cases with indifference?

Experience itself dictates that important sections be headed by specialists, persons who know the work well. This winter, as you know, the rayon boiler house of the city of Kurgan-Tyube, which has been supplied with modern equipment, was stopped 15 times, or every 7 days of the cold season, because of the insufficient skill of maintenance personnel and incompetence of its management. And this is not the first year. However, conclusions are being drawn, and persons are correctly voicing their indignation.

If we take the personnel of an average unit, the same situation exists in agriculture as well. Here more than 76 percent of the brigades and livestock raising farms are headed by persons who not only do not have an appropriate education, but even a general secondary education. But after all, the special Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum imeni Kuybyshev is in the oblast. However, its opportunities are being poorly utilized. Moreover, many agricultural specialists are working in other production sectors, including trade.

The task of looking into this has been undertaken more than once at obkom plenums, although neither the agricultural department, nor the oblAPO [oblast agitation and propaganda department], nor their organs locally have followed this matter through. This must be corrected. The party layer among personnel in the average unit also must be reinforced. This task also has been undertaken, but it is being resolved slowly.

Important personnel problems also must be resolved in connection with implementation of reforms in the general education school and vocational and technical education. At present, 30 percent of the teachers in the oblast do not have a higher education. There are not enough Russian language teachers. For this reason, this important subject was not taught in 39 schools in February of the current year.

It should be said that more than 4,000 teachers have been sent to the oblast's schools over the past 4 years. At the same time, 3,256 teachers changed their place of work and residence during this period. And this is no coincidence: suitable conditions are not being established. More than 60 percent of the teachers are being issued monetary compensation instead of fuel. Many of them are living in private apartments, without any conveniences.

In a word, there are many problems related to personnel matters in the oblast, and they must be resolved according to plan, taking into account the increasing demand, and by devoting particular attention to the training of skilled personnel from among the indigenous population. Incidentally, this problem is becoming more acute at the Vakhshskiy Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant and the Yavan-skiy Electrochemical Plant.

Today a problem as critical as the struggle against law violations cannot be disregarded. The Tajik CP Central Committee is concerned by the state of affairs in this important matter in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast as well. Serious shortcomings in this work have been pointed out to the party obkom and the oblispolkom. However, tangible results are not apparent at present. Crime continues to increase in the oblast; the largest proportion is misappropriation of state and public property and hooliganism, and the exposure of crimes is decreasing.

More must be demanded from the personnel of law enforcement organs, and we must look closely to see who is performing his duty and how it is being performed. The public must be stirred to more activity.

It cannot be said that these problems are out of sight of the party and soviet organs. They are being examined both in the obkom and the oblispolkom, and both city raykoms of the party and city rayispolkoms are acting automatically, but the effectiveness of measures being taken is not evident at present. But this is the main point in the work being conducted.

In conclusion, I want to again stress fulfillment of the targets for the current year and the five-year plan is decisive in evaluating all our activity. This year, as you know, is the final one: this is the year of the 40th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War, and the year of active preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Congress of the Tajik Communist Party. For this reason, fulfillment of annual and five-year plans and our socialist pledges will be an important test for all our personnel.

The importance of these tasks also was particularly stressed by the special March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The aims set forth in the speech by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for all of us, the party committees and primary party organizations, must form the basis of all our work.

The results achieved and unresolved problems in fulfilling plans for the economic and social development of the oblast were set forth in detail in the report, and they need not be repeated. I will say only that fulfillment of the targets in industry for 4 years of the five-year plan has not been ensured, either for rate of production volume growth (the target is 121.8 percent, the case is 107.2 percent), or for an increase in labor productivity (the target is 104.5 percent, and the case is 95.6 percent, or below the level for 1980).

Capital construction is also lagging in its development. For the 1981-1984 period, the plan for introducing fixed capital following the line of state capital investments was fulfilled by only 68 percent, and by 2 percent from the funds of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The target for increasing labor productivity was not fulfilled, either. The plan was for 122.8 percent, but the case is 112.3 percent. Overtime work of 130,000 man-days was permitted. Moreover, 127,000 man-days of work time were lost, and construction and installation work valued at more than 5.5 million rubles was underfulfilled because of this.

Serious shortcomings also exist in agricultural production. We will be talking about this in detail today after the plenum at a special conference with employees of the agroindustrial complex.

All the managers of farms which have not ensured fulfillment of plans for the first quarter, and the chief livestock experts, veterinarians and other employees of the agroindustrial complex about whose work there are serious complaints today have been invited to it.

And now I want to say that it is necessary for party and soviet organs to radically increase responsibility and discipline for fulfillment of plans and pledges at all levels.

The oblast party organization has enough experience in mobilizing the workers for successful implementation of the party's plans, it has at its disposal good personnel and a large army of specialists, and it has time and again proved its ability to successfully resolve the most complex problems.

Let me express confidence that the decree which the plenum is today working out and will approve will be consistently and persistently put into effect, and this will help the oblast to more successfully resolve all the economic and political tasks which it faces.

I wish you success.

8936

CSO: 1830/495

REGIONAL

TAJIK SUPREME SOVIET: NABIYEV ON CONSUMER/MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 30 Mar 85 p 1-2

[Speech by R. N. Nabiyeu, first secretary of the Tadshikistan CP Central Committee]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies!

Today each of us present in this hall is experiencing feelings of profound excitement and sincere gratitude to the party and the people for the great trust they have shown in us--election as deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR. To be a representative in the republic's highest body of state power is a great honor and an enormous responsibility. The title of people's deputy inspires us; at the same time it binds us to give all of our energy and knowledge to the construction of communism, to steadfastly implement the party's policy, and to faithfully and conscientiously serve the Soviet people.

The voters have endowed deputy mandates to the best representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia who embody the experience and wisdom of generations. Therefore, making use of the occasion, permit me, comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the Buro of the Central Committee, and on my own behalf personally to warmly and sincerely congratulate you on your unanimous election to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR. Permit me to wish you good health, great personal happiness, and new successes in your many-faceted state activities!

Comrade deputies! The unity and solidarity of Soviet people can always be felt in our daily social and political life. But there are days when this is felt especially sharply. Days of this kind occurred in the middle of March when the workers of our country and all progressive mankind paid tribute in connection with a severe loss of profound respect to a loyal son of the party and the people and a staunch fighter for our noble communist ideals--Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The communists and the workers of our republic, like all Soviet people, were profoundly satisfied by the decree of the special March (1985) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party on the unanimous election as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev--a prominent party and state leader who has given all of his knowledge and his rich experience and organizational talent to realizing the party's policies. This decision of enormous political importance was perceived everywhere in our country and abroad as still another vivid and

convincing proof of the unshakable loyalty of the CPSU to its Leninist course of construction and peace, and as a testimony to the complete continuity in the party's policy.

At the March Plenum of the Central Committee it was once again emphasized that the party would continue to purposefully conduct the struggle for the realization of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) Plenum, and the subsequent plenums of the central committee to accelerate the social and economic development of the country and strengthen its economic and defensive might. The satisfaction of the growing needs of Soviet man and an improvement of his working and living conditions has always been a very important concern of the party and the state and they continue to be such.

We also see this paternal concern of the party for the good and happiness of our people of labor in the example of our republic. A vivid manifestation of the great concern of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government for the workers of Tajikistan were the measures approved by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on further developing the city economy of the city of Dushanbe in the years 1984-1990 which were worked out by the USSR Council of Ministers jointly with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. The accomplishment of this program will help us to substantially raise the level with which the population is provided with housing, places in schools and children's preschool institutions, and cultural and municipal facilities.

But, of course, nothing happens by itself. The persistent and strenuous work by the local Soviets is necessary. Our time demands an increase in the role of the agencies of people's power in the construction of new and the improvement of the existing housing fund, a rise in the level of the leadership of our Soviets of our housing and municipal economy and of domestic services, and a strengthening of control in this sphere. We must always remember and be guided by the party's directives to the effect that the sphere of services for the population and the municipal economy are not simply branches which have been called upon to fulfill the plan, but services which deal directly with people, with the full variety of their tastes, and with human feelings. It is on the quality of the work of the enterprises of the service sphere that an improvement of the work of labor collectives and the social and political activeness of workers depends. For this reason, besides vocational mastery, it is demanded of the workers of these branches that they show an enormous sensitivity and friendliness toward people and high standards in their work.

In this connection, the examination at the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR of the question of the measures to further improve municipal and domestic services for the population takes on a special importance and urgency. It should be emphasized that our discussion today is by no means a result of the fact that the municipal economy and domestic services have begun to operate more poorly, but above all by the increased standard of living of the republic's workers and their increased demands



upon the quality of services and the standard of the same. I shall not run ahead and speak about what probably will be spoken of in the report. However, I would like to take note of the fact that the municipal economy and domestic services of our republic are today becoming ever wider far-flung branches of the economy which are subordinate to the local Soviets.

During the years of the current five-year plan there has been a substantial increase in the amounts and types of services which are being provided. Recently the municipal economy and domestic services have been taking their place on an industrial basis with increasing confidence. With each passing year their material and technical base is increasingly strengthened.

We are rightly proud of the fact that in our country there is the lowest and most stable apartment rent. We are rightly proud of the fact that every citizen of the USSR is guaranteed the right to housing by our constitution. What capitalist state, including the United States of America, is able to compare itself to us in the realization of genuine democracy and of real concern for the well-being and happiness of people of labor? The answer to this question is simple: there is no such country in the world of capital! This is possible only under the conditions of a developed socialist society!

Making use of the opportunity which has been granted us, we also cannot but mention the fact that not a single branch of the economy of our republic has been developing at such rapid rates as domestic services. Judge for yourselves: during the four years of the five-year plan alone the amount of domestic services increased by 33.6 percent, while in rural areas it increased by 36.9 percent. However, this increase can in no way satisfy us since the possibilities for the development of the services sphere in the republic are enormous. We still have many unutilized reserves. We have not reached the point where at every kolkhoz and sovkhos center there are overall reception points, ateliers, workshops, and public baths. We have not yet reached a high standard of services for the population.

And these are all problems of paramount state importance; the extent to which they are solved successfully will largely determine the mood of our working man and, in the final analysis, of his labor productivity. There is good reason why domestic services are still frequently called "the good mood industry" among the people. But, unfortunately, the work results of recent years show that the state plan did not become a law for all of the collectives of our city and rayon, and ministry and department service sphere enterprises. Thus, the assignments of the four years of the current five-year plan for the realization of domestic services remained unfulfilled by the ministries of domestic services for the population, fruit and vegetables, and motor vehicle transport, by all of the oblasts, and by the cities Nurek and Tursunzade, and also by Leninskiy, Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Gissarskiy, Dzhirgatal'skiy, and Komsomolabadskiy rayons.

While they know about the state of affairs in the localities, the executive committees of the local Soviets far from always take decisive measures

to eliminate existing shortcomings and to raise the level of leadership in the branch. For some reason it has become a tradition among us to explain the nonfulfillment of a plan and the poor quality of services by a shortage of transportation equipment, a lack of materials which are in popular demand, and even by the weather.

Of course, these factors cannot be discounted; they have a place, but their significance is by no means decisive. Why, for example, do many domestic service enterprises achieve high growth rates for volumes and good quality for services, while others, under the same circumstances, permit a chronic lagging?

The leadership of the executive committees of the local Soviets sometimes give serious thought to this. The republic's party agencies have frequently called the attention of the ispolkom of the Kulyabskiy Oblast and Gissarskiy Rayon Soviets of Peoples' Deputies to the serious shortcomings in the work of the domestic services enterprises which are subordinate to them. However, effective measures aimed at a radical improvement of the work of domestic services have not yet been taken.

There is no satisfaction regarding today's demands for assortment, and the standard and quality of domestic services for the population.

Striving at any cost to fulfill the plan for the realization of domestic services, the leaders of domestic services enterprises frequently concentrate their chief attention on the production of profitable service and show little concern for such services as really remove a large load of domestic cares from the population and economize free time.

It is clear that the time has come when we need to review in the most serious manner the list of services being planned, proceeding from the needs of the population, and not from the departmental interests of the branch itself.

The workers of the service sphere are in especially great debt to our rural workers. For all of you know that our republic is an agricultural one and that 65 percent of its inhabitants live in rural areas. The existing network of workshops and reception points far from satisfies the growing needs of our rural workers for domestic services. At the present time in many rayons there are not enough enterprises to repair radio and television sets and household appliances, to manufacture and repair footwear and knitted goods, and there are not enough rental points. This applies in the first place to Komsomolabadskiy, Garmskiy and Dzhirgatal'skiy rayons. In a substantial part of the large populated points of the republic there have not yet been created bases for the construction and repair of housing, furniture, and existing structures. There are practically no high category garment ateliers, barbershops, and photo salons.

As in the past, there are still large losses of time by workers on account of the inconvenient regulation of the work of service sphere enterprises.

The work hours of many municipal and domestic enterprises and labor collectives coincide as a result of which many clients are compelled to their detriment to resort to their services during their work time. In a number of large ateliers, workshops, and reception points in our cities and rayons there are no telephone communications.

All of these problems demand a timely solution. The permanent commissions of the Soviets, deputy posts, people's control groups, and an extensive aktiv should be more actively enlisted in the work to improve the quality of services. Their common efforts should be directed toward the elimination of existing shortcomings and cases of indifference and negligence with regard to the needs of the workers.

Quite a lot of disturbance is brought to people by the sphere of municipal services. Unfortunately, there is no decrease in the number of written and oral addresses by citizens regarding an improvement of the work of the municipal economy. In their statements they complain about the poor heating of apartments, about interruptions in the supply of hot and cold water, violations of appointed times and the low quality of repairs on the housing fund, the beautification of streets and squares, and the non-rhythmic work of passenger transportation.

An especially large number of complaints are received from the residents of the city of Dushanbe about the operation of their heating systems. This indicates that the preparations for winter here are performed by municipal services in a formal manner. Work on the reconstruction and repair of thermal pumping stations, systems, and individual boilers continued until the middle of the winter, although in September of last year the chairman of the Dushanbe gorispolkom comrade N. Sh. Shorakhmonov reported that all was ready for winter, and that a staff had been created to control heat supplies for the city of Dushanbe.

The problem of heat supplies is also being felt most sharply in the city of Kurgan-Tyube. However, neither the oblispolkom nor the gorispolkom have been devoting the necessary attention to this matter.

It has to be noted that an extremely negative influence on improving services for the population is resulting from the lack of agreement between the executive committees of the Soviets and branch ministries and departments in the selection and placement of municipal housing and domestic services cadres. Cases are known when people with little skills, and sometimes completely incompetent workers, are advanced in these branches.

One cannot but stop to give special consideration to the extremely slow utilization of the capital investments which are allotted for the construction of new and the reconstruction of operating municipal and domestic enterprises and structures. Suffice it to say, that during four years 13.7 million rubles in capital investments were not utilized in these branches, and 36.4 million rubles in fixed capital was not commissioned. The construction time for most enterprises, and, above all, for such as

the Dushanbe household equipment repair plant, the bath and laundry combine in Dangar, and the public bath in Leningradskiy Rayon are being unjustifiably dragged on.

Despite the acute shortage of drinking water for the population during the hot times of the year, even now in Dushanbe the construction of water supply facilities continues to be substantially behind schedule. The dates for the commissioning of the Kayrakkum treatment plants are postponed. And the list of such extended construction projects could be continued. This is a serious reproach to the local Soviets of Peoples' Deputies. Such facts must not remain without a principled evaluation.

Government bodies have to strengthen their organizational work connected with the re-equipping of enterprises, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress in the services sphere, and a reduction of the share of manual labor with low productivity.

The positive experience of making use of labor resources has to actively be disseminated, and a stable increase in the amounts of services has to be achieved with fewer workers on the basis of the mastery of related occupations and an expansion of service zones. There has to be a universal and persistent introduction of the brigade form of the organization and payment of labor which has given a good account of itself in other branches of the economy, and a wider development of such progressive forms of services as the reception of orders at home, at one's place of work, and in dormitories, and the provision of services by subscription according to the method "today--for today," and others.

The ispolkoms of the local Soviets, jointly with the ministries of agriculture, domestic services, other associations, and departments connected with the service sphere have to make more efficient use of production capacities and put every start-up project into operation on time.

In 1984, for example, the capacities of dry cleaning enterprises which worked on a two-shift basis were utilized only at the level of 52.5 percent, while those of laundries--at 54.5 percent. Such a situation can no longer be accepted.

As is known to you, beginning with 1 July 1984 an economic experiment will be conducted on expanding the economic independence and strengthening the interest of domestic services enterprises in a fuller satisfaction of the needs of the population for services. Beginning with this year a number of union republic domestic services ministries were shifted to the new economic conditions. For this reason, Gosplan and the Ministry of Domestic Services and local Soviets of our republic have to also actively prepare for a shift to the new working conditions in 1986.

During the past period of the election campaign the local Soviets received many orders from voters regarding an improvement of the work of municipal

and domestic services. And an examination of this question at today's session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR, and a realization of the criticisms and proposals made by the deputies will undoubtedly have a positive influence on the work of these important branches.

The concluding year of the 11th Five-Year Plan is in progress. The republic's labor collectives, having undertaken an extensive socialist competition for a worthy reception of the 27th Congress of our Leninist party and the 40th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, are successfully fulfilling the plans and the socialist commitments they adopted. During four years of the current five-year plan the growth rates of industrial production came to 16 percent, compared to a planned 14 percent. Above-plan output in the amount of 470 million rubles was produced. This same time saw the commissioning of more than 3 billion rubles worth of fixed capital, with 104 large industrial objects put into operation, and with all of these sources of financing resulting in more than 4 million square meters of housing and many other social and cultural facilities.

The workers of our agro-industrial complex overfulfilled their plans for the procurement of the most important types of agricultural output. There were improvements in the operation of transportation, communications, trade, and other branches of the economy.

Our primary obligation now is the successful completion of the assignments of the current year for all of their technical and economic indicators and, above all, for an additional increase in labor productivity, a decrease in the cost of output, a savings of fuel and energy and other material resources, and compliance with contracts regarding amounts and quality of output. Of great importance in this plan will be the realization of the commitments adopted by the collectives of the enterprises and organizations of our republic to work two days this year on the basis of economized materials, raw materials, and fuel.

No less important is the absolute achievement of an advance fulfillment of the state plans and of commitments regarding trade, domestic services, municipal services, transportation and communications, and other branches of the economy. In view of the fact that for certain indicators we lag behind the assignments of the five-year plan which, unfortunately, continues to be the case in the first quarter of this year, it is necessary to make a deep and many-sided analysis of the work of every labor collective, help them in eliminating bottlenecks in production, and ensure stable and dynamic work.

And there is no doubt that with the help of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR and of the local Soviets we shall succeed in eliminating existing shortcomings and making fuller use of reserves and possibilities and, thereby, successfully conclude the 11th Five-Year Plan, provide a worthy meeting for the 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the forthcoming 27th Congress of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan!

Permit me, dear comrade deputies, once again on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan to ardently and sincerely congratulate you upon the high trust which has been bestowed upon you by being elected to the highest agency of our state power and of the genuinely people's power of our republic.

We wish you all good health, happiness in your lives, and great success in your work as deputies for the welfare and flourishing of our fatherland. (Applause).

2959

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REGIONAL

AMERICAN SCHOLAR ON SUFISM MANUSCRIPTS AT TASHKENT INSTITUTE

Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 11, Nov 84  
(signed to press 19 Dec 84) pp 43-47

[Article by Deven DeWeese: "Significance of Available Manuscripts of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences for Study of Sufism"]

[Text] During the winter of 1983-84, the author of these lines was engaged in research on the basis of a collection of oriental manuscripts of the Oriental Studies Institute imeni Abu Raykhan Beruni of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences in Tashkent. This work became possible as a result of implementation of the program for the exchange of scientists between the USSR and the United States, which is supervised in the United States by the Department for International Research and Exchange and in the Soviet Union by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. The purpose of the undertaken research is twofold: in the first place, to assist in the collection and review of manuscript and documentary sources on the history of Central Asia of the Middle Ages, which is conducted at the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies--RIFIAS--one of the American centers of Central Asian research at the Indiana University in Bloomington (Indiana State); and second, to study and provide an appraisal of manuscript sources, concerning the sphere of scientific interests of the author himself--the history of Sufic orders of Central Asia.

The importance of the collected manuscripts of the IV AN [Oriental Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the] UzSSR for oriental studies in general can be judged by its volume alone, but its value increases even more owing to the fact that this collection is comparatively well cataloged and, therefore, in a certain sense easily understood by foreign scientists, which, unfortunately, cannot be said about other large collections (for example, in Turkey, India and Iran). As for the study of the medieval history of Central Asia, particularly the research of hagiographic sources, then in this respect the collection of manuscripts of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences is absolutely necessary, just like the scientific research being conducted by its associates. It is precisely because of this that the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies strives to establish permanent and mutually useful relations with the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, including exchange of materials, preparation of joint

publications and establishment of a constant dialogue with respect to the research being conducted as well as productive directions of future scientific work.

As already noted, the research by the author of these lines is concentrated on hagiographic literature connected with Sufic orders of medieval Central Asia. This literature in the Persian, Tajik and ancient Uzbek languages encompasses a broad range from simple silsila or genealogy of the clergy to extensive collections of biographies of famous sheikhs and detailed descriptions of deeds and sayings of individual Sufic sheikhs. In general these works can be classified according to their origin from one of the three main Sufic orders which arose in Central Asia (Nakshbandiya, Yasaviya and Kubraviya), although several important works concern sheikhs of all orders.

The entire collection of hagiographic literature is of a twofold significance: first of all, it contains valuable information on the political, social, economic and cultural history of Central Asia, and second, it is, of course, the basic source for the study of internal history of the Sufic orders themselves. However, if in the first case these sources remain simply insufficiently used, then in the second case they are actually untouched. Eighty years have passed since V. L. Vyatkin and N. S. Lykoshin studied the biographic literature concerning Sheikh Hodzha Akhrar (15th century) and Sufi poet Divan-i Mashrab (second half of 17th century).<sup>1</sup> Subsequent researchers used these kind of sources only to supplement information on historical geography and economic history. V. V. Bartol'd published excerpts from "Miftakh at-talibin"<sup>2</sup>--biography of Kubraviya order Sheikh Kamal-ad-din Khuseyn Khorezmi (16th century); and from "Siradzh as-salikin"<sup>3</sup> the biography of Maulana Lutfullakh Chusti (16 century); the latter work was also a subject of a special article by A. A. Semenov.<sup>4</sup> The rich hagiographic literature concerning Hodzha Akhrar and Dzhuybar sheikhs was touched upon by P. P. Ivanov and O. D. Chekhovich in their research of the domains and the economic role of these sheikhs.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, individual articles in some special publications on history include information from hagiographic sources.<sup>6</sup> But in general it may be said that serious study of such important monuments of literature as a source on the history of Central Asia in general and the history of Sufism, in particular, has not been undertaken yet.

Beyond any doubt, the manuscript depository of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences contains a unique, rich collection of Central Asian hagiographic works. Such well-known works as "Nafakhat al-uns" by Abdarrakhman Dzhami, "Madzhalis al-ushshak" which is attributed to Sultan Khuseyn Baykar but was actually written by Kamaladdin Khuseyn Gazurgakhi, "Safinat al-auliya" by Mongolian prince Dara Shikukha, the biography of Hodzha Akhrar compiled by Ali b. Khuseyn Kashifi and "Rashakhat-i ayn al-khayt" are, of course, well represented in the collection of the Oriental Studies Institute of UzSSR Academy of Sciences. But what is more important is that this collection has many works of decisive significance, which are known through very few manuscript lists (and often through only one manuscript).

Among the most valuable works which are available only in the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences one may list "Samarat al-Mashaikh,"<sup>7</sup>



which was compiled in Bukhara approximately at the end of 17th century by Sayyid Zinda Ali al-Mufti b. Hodzha Mir Khuseyn al-Bukhari al-Kasimi. This work contains biographic notes on hundreds of Central Asian sheikhs of all Sufic orders and should serve as a convenient reference book for reconstructing their history. A similar work, which again is available only at the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, is "Ashdzhar al-Khuld,"<sup>8</sup> which was compiled by someone named Mukhammad Azam at the beginning of 18th century; like "Samarat al-Mashaikh" it is especially valuable for the study of the Sufic orders Kubraviya and Yasaviya, which compared with the Nakshbandiya order are relatively poorly represented in hagiographic literature.

Special works devoted to Kubraviya sheikhs are particularly rare. The Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences has important manuscript lists of two 16th century biographies of the aforementioned Kamal-ad-din Khuseyn Khorezmi, the "Miftakh at-talibin"<sup>9</sup> and "Dzhaddat al-Ashikin."<sup>10</sup> The material needed to study the little-known late medieval period of development of the Central Asian order of Kubraviya can be gleaned from the collection of treatises on Sufic dogmatics as well as from biographic literature<sup>11</sup> devoted to Kubraviya sheikhs of Saktari who lived near Bukhara.

As for the Yasaviya order, the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences has some rather small works of a legendary nature about the founder and early sheikhs of this order, which are not available anywhere else. Besides numerous manuscript lists of the two valuable hagiographic works concerning Yasaviya sheikhs--"Khudzhat az-Zakirin" by Maulan Sharif al-Bukhari and "Lamakhat min Nafakhat al-Kuds" by Mukhammad Alim as-Siddiki al-Alavi--the collection of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences also has the only lists of "Tukhfat al-ansab-i Alavi"<sup>12</sup>; this work (the biography of the author of "Lamakhat") was written in 1149/1736 and contains valuable information on the late medieval period of development of the Yasaviya order and its links with the Nakshbandiya order.

The biographic literature on representatives of the Nakshbandiya order is comparatively extensive and is well represented in collections outside Central Asia. Nevertheless, the collection of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences contains many works which are not available anywhere else, including a whole series of unique manuscripts. Among such important sources on the Nakshbandiya order one may mention the original handwritten manuscript "Silsilat al-arifin"<sup>13</sup> by Maulan Mukhammad Kazi--the biography of Hodzha Akhrar; one of the well-known manuscript lists "Siradzh as-salikin,"<sup>14</sup> which was mentioned earlier, and the only list "Kashshaf al-arifin,"<sup>15</sup> concerning the successor of Maulan Lutfullakh Chusti. Both works contain interesting information on relations between settled Central Asia and the Kazakh steppe of 16th century; the only manuscript list which is of great interest on the early biography of Akhmad Hodzha-gi-yi Kasani, who was known as Makhdum-i Azam--"Silsilat as-siddikin"<sup>16</sup>; the only lists of some valuable sources on the famous Dzhuybar hodzhas, including "Sa'diya"<sup>17</sup> by Khuseyn Sarakhsi and "Rauzat ar-rizvan"<sup>18</sup> by Badraddin al-Kashmiri (a unique manuscript); the only lists "Tazkira-i Takhir Ishan,"<sup>20</sup> which was compiled in 1157/1744 and is necessary for the study of history of the Nakshbandiya order in Khorezm; the unique manuscript of the work "Mazkhar al-Akhval"<sup>21</sup> on the

Bukhara sheikhs of 18th century; and the only lists "Makashif al-asrar"<sup>22</sup> -- works containing important material on the Bukhara sheikhs of the early 19th century.

The research in the field of hagiographic literature of Central Asia will, of course, develop in various directions, depending on the interests and goals of scientists who refer to such sources; the author of these lines plans to select the following directions as one of the necessary initial means of research:

1. Methodological considerations. Unavoidable problems arise during attempts to use literature, which is religious in its content and was written for the purpose of spiritual instruction of the reader, as a historical source. The most important for the authors of hagiographic works was to reflect the "absolute truths" in the life of a sheikh, and not those individual features and specific details which interest a historian. Therefore, the important first step in utilization of these sources is to develop methodological principles, which could be used as a guide by a historian during their development.

2. Reconstruction of silsila. Reconstruction of genealogies, presented in hagiographic sources, is an important paramount task in analyzing such literature; this, of course, is decisive for studying the internal history of Sufic orders, moreover it creates a basis for compiling indicators of these sources in order to promote their use during research of political, social, economic and cultural history.

3. Comparison with other sources. This process includes not only extraction of historic and geographic information, which was accidentally included in hagiographic sources, but also cross-references to biographic information in it as well as to similar data contained in other kind of sources. In this manner the hagiographic literature can help in establishing the identity of figures, who are known by name alone based on documentary, epistolary and narrative historical sources, and these sources, for their part, will make it possible to supplement the exclusively spiritual picture presented in hagiographies with concrete information on the practical activity of a "saint."

4. Organizational history. The Sufic orders formed social subgroups within the framework of much larger social structures of medieval Central Asia and they should be studied as such from the aspect of their inner development as well as from the aspect of their relationship with the society as a whole. The composition and structure of orders can be examined from these positions, including the internal organizational coordination of their economic and political activity, their links with offshoots of the same orders outside Central Asia and their relations with steppe nomads and with nomadic elements within Central Asia.

5. Development of doctrines. The study of history of the Sufic orders will create a basis for researching the development of Sufic doctrines in Central Asian orders. This is particularly important with respect to the Nakshbandiya order, whose members manifested devotion to active participation in secular affairs; the study of the political and economic activity of sheikhs of the Nakshbandiya order must be accompanied with an analysis of the "justification"

of such activity in the field of doctrines. The examination of development in the field of ideology will also deepen the understanding of cultural contacts between Central Asian orders and their counterparts in other parts of the Muslim world (as, for example, during the revival of the Central Asian order of Nakshbandiya under the influence of (mudzhaddidy) from India).

It should be noted that an established tradition exists in the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences of studying the history of social and scientific thought of Central Asia, including the history of Sufic orders and their doctrines: all specialists in the field of civilization of the Muslim East are much indebted to the research work and publications of the institute in the matter of developing the legacy of outstanding scientists and philosophers of medieval Central Asia. M. M. Khayrullayev, director of the institute and corresponding member of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, is a specialist in the field of history of philosophic thought; his numerous works are devoted to analyzing the development of science in Central Asia during the Middle Ages. The works of Beruni, Ibn Sina and Khorezmi became available to scientists as a result of the research and scientifically annotated translations, which were prepared by P. G. Bulgakov, corresponding member of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, and U. I. Karimov, corresponding member of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, and published by the institute. As for more later periods, then the distinction in the research from the positions of history of hagiographic literature of the late Middle Ages belongs to Doctor of Historical Sciences B. A. Akhmedov. The results of such research are included in the recently published work by B. A. Akhmedov "Istoriya Balkha" [History of the Balkh] and also in the work "Istochniki istorii Sredney Azii" [Sources of Central Asian History] which is being prepared for publication. The letters-original handwritten manuscripts of Dzhami by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. U. Urunbayev, which are prepared for publication, are a particularly important source on the history of social thought and literature in the second half of 15th century. The available manuscripts of the institute are raw material at the disposal of scientists in the study of the history of science and social thought of Central Asia, and the author of these lines, like all scientists who highly value the efforts aimed at preserving this legacy, is especially grateful to Candidate of Historical Sciences K. M. Munirov, chief of the institute's manuscript depository, for the constant work conducted by him in safekeeping manuscripts and making them available to scientists.

In conclusion the author would like to express his gratitude to the leadership of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences for the opportunity to use its rich stock for carrying out this research as well as to express the hope that the spirit of cooperation, which was manifested in Tashkent, will be continued in the establishment of regular contacts between the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences and the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. Cooperation between these two Central Asia study centers cannot be but mutually useful.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: V. L. Vyatkin, "O Khodzhe Akhrare" [On Khodzha Akhrar]--TURKESTANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, 1898, No 3; same author, "Iz biografii Khodzhi Akhrara" [From the Biography of Khodzha Akhrar]--TURKESTANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, 1904, No 147; N.S. Lykoshin, "Divana-i Mashrab"--TURKESTANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, 1901 Nos 11, 35, 61, 78.

2. V. V. Bartol'd, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan" [Account of Assignment to Turkestan]--"Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 8, Moscow, 1973, pp 145-151.
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4. A. A. Semenov, "Unikal'nyy pamyatnik agiograficheskoy sredneaziatskoy literatury XVI v." [Unique Monument of Hagiographic Central Asian Literature of 16 Century]--IZVESTIYA UZBEKSKOGO FILIALA AN SSSR, 1940, No 12, pp 52-62; 1941, No 3, pp 37-48.
5. P. P. Ivanov, "Khozyaystvo Dzhuybarskikh sheykhov. K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladieniya v Sredney Azii v XVI-XVII vv." [The Economy of Dzhuybar Sheikhs. Toward the History of Feudal Land Ownership in Central Asia in 16th-17th centuries], Moscow--Leningrad, 1954; O. D. Chekhovich, "Samar-kandskiye dokumenty XV-XVI vv. (O vladeniya Khodzha Akhrara v Sredney Azii i Afganistane) [Samarkand Documents of 15th-16th centuries (On the Possessions of Khodzha Akhrar in Central Asia and Afghanistan)], Moscow, 1974.
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7. Rkp [Manuscripts] of the Oriental Studies Institute of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, inv [inventory] No 2619 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts (SVR) of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, Vol 3, No 2669), 1336 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 1, No 319), 3424.
8. Ibid., inventory No 498 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2689).
9. Ibid., inventory Nos 394, 1493 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3 Nos 2580-2581), 5426, 6920; compare with translation in Uzbek language made in 19th century by Agakhi--inventory No 8483.
10. Ibid., inventory No 499 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2579), 3084 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 10, No 6962).
11. Ibid., inventory No 2501 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, Nos 2602, 2756).
12. Ibid., inventory No 1459 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2638), 9652 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 8, No 5648), 5432.
13. Ibid., inventory No 11413 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 10, No 6949).
14. Ibid., inventory No 629 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2587).

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16. Ibid., inventory No 2471 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2576), 622, 1904.
17. Ibid., inventory Nos 1439, 2323, 70 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, Nos 2591-2593), 4514 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 10, No 6960).
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20. Ibid., inventory Nos 69, 75, 855 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, Nos 2692-2694), 8791 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 9, No 6077); Uzbek translation--inventory No 856 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 3, No 2695), 7017 (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, 7, No 5575).
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9817

CSO: 1830/467

REGIONAL

BUREAUCRACY HARMS UZBEK CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONAL NOURISHMENT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by G. Figlin, correspondent: "Seven Departments; How They Fuss over the Problem of Children's Institutional Nourishment"]

[Text] Everyone loves children. Some combine love with work. Like for instance, the staff of children's milk kitchens. But the fruits of their love don't reach every kid. There isn't enough of the fruits.

In the Kara-Kalpak ASSR the output of children's milk kitchens covers only six percent of demand. In the Khorezm Oblast, 10 percent; in the Dzhizak and Kashka-Darya oblasts, 14 percent.

Young inhabitants of Tashkent are in the best situation. Thirty seven percent of their demand is satisfied. But mothers and fathers who in the early pre-dawn hours line up in front of the distribution centers see rather the other side of that number. If 37 percent is satisfied, 63 percent is not. Which means that the best situation is also very bad.

There is an opinion current that love for children knows no limits. However when combined with work, this love is limited. It becomes narrowly departmental. Nurses from different departments come together over the problem of children's nourishment. And, as it is customary among the seven nurses, there ensues a tense discussion on various subjects.

Take, for instance, the Dzhizak Oblast. According to last year's plan, milk kitchens there had to receive and process 3,185 ton of milk. They processed in the course of the year 524 tons--one sixth as much.

"Why don't you supply us with milk?" nurses from the network of the Ministry of Health ask the suppliers. "Because of you kitchens in kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not used to full capacity. We work only one shift and less than full time. Sometimes we are even idle."

"No, let's tell everything as it is," bristle the milk suppliers. "Wherever we supply you, you don't fulfill the plan yourselves. Your kitchens are small and ill-equipped. Formula you make by hand. You are as far from fulfilling the plan as a one-year-old is from the doorknob."

It is not the first year that the nurses have argued among themselves. And it is not that there were no solutions. Solutions exist. The Baltic republics and neighboring Kirghizia have already put them to use.

The solution is to put production of children's nourishment on an industrial basis. To create specialized shops at the milk factories of large towns and cities--large capacity, equipped with modern machinery, able to satisfy demand in full. And in the countryside, where such shops are unnecessary, to enlarge childrens' kitchens while gradually reducing their number. And at the same time to get rid of hand preparation, which offers neither quality, nor productivity. And to supply large kitchens with special vehicles which help children's nourishment to retain its qualities during transportation and to deliver it to the distribution centers in kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

All this, obviously, is in the future. But to bring it closer to reality much needs to be done even now. But it isn't being done. Practically in every oblast of the republic construction deadlines for new milk kitchens are missed. Kara-Kalpakia fell short of the target by four kitchens; the Kashka-Darya Oblast, by three; the Khorezm, Dzhizak, Namangan, Surkhan-Darya and Tashkent oblasts, by two each. The fault here lies, in the first place, with the ispolkoms. And of course, with the builders.

For decades, the equipment at the functioning children's milk kitchens has not been modernized or repaired. Quality requirements for whole milk used in production and for the finished products are not being met. In the quality of milk, dairy farms have a big debt to repay to the children. Here, too, appropriate machinery and staffing with qualified personnel must be provided.

What is needed to find an all-around solution to the questions of organizing children's nourishment is cooperation between the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, and the Ministry of Agriculture, the construction agencies and the ispolkoms. It is necessary that Gosplan participate in determining the time periods and the order in which the demand for specialized vehicles/refrigerators is satisfied.

In the meantime, however, various agencies are just deflecting complaints away from themselves. From one to another, as though they were rocking a cradle. And in the cradle, the problem is growing.

A round dance of departmental nurses takes place in the capital of the republic as well.

Let's start with the milk that is supplied by the Tashkent milk association of the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry. In far from all cases does it meet established standards. The temperature conditions are not followed either.

In summer, there were instances when milk arrived from farms in the Tashkent Oblast at the temperature of 30 degrees instead of the required 10 degrees.

The absence of specialized vehicles for transporting children's nourishment and of refrigerating equipment at the distribution centers has, of course, a

negative impact on the quality of the food. But it is being snapped up even hot: there is a shortage.

Five childrens' milk kitchens in the city are producing 51,000 portions of milk formula per day with a planned capacity of 45,000. They are functioning above their planned capacities. They are choking under pressure. One actually has choked to death. The milk kitchen of the Pediatric Scientific Research Institute finally had to be shut down for capital repairs.

All the kitchens need major repairs and modernization of all technical equipment. But even the new equipment that has been purchased has not been installed.

Hopes for considerable improvement were pinned on the opening of a high-capacity (100,000 portions per day) shop at the Tashkent milk association. The shop is considered to be in operation. Yet, up till now it has not been producing output. When it does open, it will be producing only two type of products instead of 12 and will not, therefore, solve the problem of children's nourishment.

The Main Tashkent Construction Administration (Glavtashkentstroy) is lagging behind also in erecting a children's milk kitchen/factory in the Sabir-Rakhimovskiy Rayon having a capacity of 25,000 portions per day.

So round and round it goes, this inter-departmental fuss over the failure to do the work. One thing is linked to another. And of the entire assortment of children's nourishment only the promises abound.

How can Tashkent's gorispolkom and city health administration tolerate all this?

It is time to call the grownups to account for not satisfying the demand of the children.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan recently considered this question, gave a sharp and principled evaluation of the situation in the organization of children's nourishment and called for order to be established in the relationship between rayon and oblast plants, institutions and organizations of different departments. To define strictly the responsibilities of each one. And to solve finally in essence this very important social problem.

12892

CSO: 1830/520



REGIONAL

ROLE OF IMPARTIAL WITNESS IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS DETAILED

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 6 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] Who Is an Impartial Eyewitness?

In accordance with Article 113 of the "Estonian SSR criminal process code" the person and the investigator carrying out an inquiry must ask at least two impartial eyewitnesses, who would confirm with own eyes what they have seen, to join the investigation procedure (inspection, search, making a list of property, seizure).

Now a brief explanation about the rights and duties of an impartial eyewitness during the time of his presence at (MN: underlined words in bold type) an investigation procedure. Any physically and mentally healthy adult, who is not himself a participant at the process (the accused, defendant, counsel for the defence, civil action plaintiff or defendant, their representative) or a participant's relative, likewise a witness, worker of the investigation organ or the court, can be an impartial eyewitness. The impartial eyewitness has the right to become acquainted with the articles and documents taken away, to make remarks to the investigator regarding the conduct of participants at the investigation procedure, to acquaint himself with the compiled report and to confirm with his signature the conformity of the investigation procedure with the final result entered in the report.

According to the law an impartial eyewitness is asked to join an investigation procedure only at a pre-court investigation. So that usually he is not required to give evidence in court. But very rarely it could, nevertheless, occur that the accused or his counsel for the defence would place the investigation procedure, at which the impartial eyewitnesses were present, under suspicion. Then the court has the right to call the impartial eyewitnesses and to examine them as witnesses. As at many an investigation procedures there must be impartial eyewitnesses present, the person asked to attend as an impartial eyewitness cannot refuse his assistance. (On the basis of Article 173 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code, a person who refused to attend as an impartial eyewitness can be punished with up to 6 months of corrective labour, up to R100 fine, or with a public censure).

The information which the impartial eyewitness has learned in the course of the investigation procedure is not for making known. For the entire time of investigation procedure the impartial eyewitnesses retain their average wages, when necessary, a daily allowance is being paid and they are being recompensated traveling and other expenses which have arisen in connection with the investigation.

The presence of the impartial eyewitnesses places the investigator's activity under the control of the public and protects him against possible groundless reproaches in the future, consequently ensures the protection of rights and legal interests of citizens.

Endel Rannus,  
senior consultant  
of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice

CSO: 1815/53

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN BURO ON TBILISI METRO, OUTPUT OF CONCRETE SUPPORTS

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] At a scheduled meeting, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro considered and approved the initiative by collectives of the administration of the "Tbiltonnel'stroy" and the Tbilisi Metro, which pledged to put the third section of the metro in operation by 7 November 1985 in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Georgian Communist Party Congress.

The Tbilisi gorkom of the party and the appropriate ministries and departments were ordered to assist in every possible way the metro builders' labor upsurge, aimed at commissioning new sections of the metro from Didube to the TEVZ [Tbilisi Electric Locomotive Manufacturing Plant imeni V. I. Lenin] and from Samgori to Varketili ahead of schedule.

After hearing the report by Comrade D. I. Patiashvili, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, on work to provide vineyards with support materials, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro noted that despite steps being taken, the production of concrete grape stakes for the vineyards still does not meet the republic's needs. The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro directed the attention of T. V. Chikvaidze, deputy chairman of the State Committee of Agricultural Production; N. A. Keadze, first deputy minister of the fruit and vegetable industry; G. M. Chubinidze, deputy chairman of the republic association "Gruzmezhkolkhozstroy"; A. G. Museridze, chief of "Glavgruzvodstroy"; Yu. G. Kirkitadze, manager of the "Inzhstroy" Trust; and Z. D. Papava, first deputy chief of the Transcaucasian Railroad, to the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the target for turning out concrete support materials, and made it incumbent upon them to eliminate shortcomings in this work in the immediate future.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro discussed results of the check of facts related to different violations at the "Sinatle" sanatorium in Tskhaltubo, cited in IZVESTIYA, and directed the attention of K. K. Gardabkhadze, GSSR minister of social security, to the necessity of putting subordinate treatment and sanitation institutions in order, as well as for a prompt and objective response to statements by the mass media.

After considering the question of work with letters and the reception of workers in the republic's party committees in 1984, the central committee buro made it incumbent upon party, soviet and economic organs in the republic to improve

activity in this direction continually. Work with appeals by the people has to be thoroughly analyzed, the responsibility of personnel for timely consideration and for taking the necessary steps has to be increased, progressive new forms of organizing this work have to be introduced, and displays of a negligent and bureaucratic treatment of letters and statements by citizens have to be stopped.

Other questions related to the sociopolitical and socioeconomic life of the republic also were considered at the buro meeting.

8936

CSO: 1830/495

REGIONAL

GRISHKYAVICHUS BOOK VIEWS FORTY YEARS OF SOVIET LITHUANIA

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Mar 85 (signed to press 22 Mar 85) pp 32-37

[Review by F. Belyauskas, CPSU member since 1933, of the book "Chetyre desyatiletia svobody" (Four Decades of Freedom) by First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania Pyatras Grishkyavichus, Vilnius, 1984, Mintis, in Lithuanian]

[Text] "This book gives a brief overview of the path traveled by the working people of Soviet Lithuania since the socialist revolution of 1940. It shows their heroic struggle against the Nazi occupiers and for restoration of the economy and the complete victory of socialism. It also treats the most important changes that have occurred in the life of the republic and in performing the tasks outlined by the Communist Party under conditions of mature socialism" -- these are the words with which Comrade Pyatras Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, opens his recently-published book "Four Decades of Freedom."

Lovingly one picks up this fine edition, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over Hitler's Germany, and to the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania.

One of the strongest points of the book is that it not only gives a panorama of the glorious decades of our people's struggle for the freedom of their native land, but also lays out the mileposts for further work. Therefore, our hearts respond to the author's words about how our home today is comfortable, but in the future it will be even more so because the working people of Soviet Lithuania, under the leadership of the Leninist party and in the unified family of fraternal republics, are marching confidently into the future.

We would not be able to take pleasure at the republic's accomplishments in building socialism today if it had not been for the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. Therefore, the author dedicates his first words of love and respect to the Soviet fighting man who smashed the fascist military machine in fighting that lasted 1,418 days and nights. Our country, which gave 20 million people in the name of Victory, was the main force that blocked fascism's path to world rule.

The primary burden of World War II fell to the lot of our country, which fought Nazi Germany and its satellites alone on the most important fronts. Fascist losses of personnel and equipment on the Eastern Front were 3.4 times as great as Nazi losses incurred in fighting against the U. S. and English army (p 5). Therefore, the attempts of certain reactionary politicians in the West to

diminish the significance of the heroic feat of the Soviet Army in smashing Nazism arouse our indignation. Monuments in honor of Soviet fighting men have been erected in Volgograd and Berlin, in Prague and the city of the Neva, almost everywhere in Europe and even beyond the continent. The impressive monuments to the liberating Soviet Army on Lithuanian soil symbolize the gratitude and respect of the Lithuanian people for those who liberated them from slavery and death, those who call on the living to revere and multiply our accomplishments.

Celebrating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Soviet Lithuania, the working people of the republic recall the harsh days of war and give tribute to the liberating Soviet fighting men, understanding very well that only the restoration of Soviet power in 1940 and voluntary entry into the family of fraternal Soviet republics helped the Lithuanian people arrive at the great Victory together with the victorious peoples.

Having emphasized this thought, the author presents broad materials on the year 1940, a historic year for the Lithuanian people when the People's Seim, elected with very wide participation by the entire population of Lithuania, proclaimed Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic.

The reborn Soviet Lithuania received a meager inheritance from bourgeois power. Although bourgeois representatives loved to talk about the nation and brag about how they were supposedly looking after the welfare of the entire people, while in reality their only aspiration was to get rich at the expense of the masses of the people. Lithuanian agriculture and industry were backward and the peasants were burdened with an impossible load of taxes paid to the state and debts to banks. On 1 July 1940 there were 76,452 registered unemployed persons in our small region.

The first steps on the path to socialist reorganization -- nationalization of industry, the banks, and the lands of large landowners freed the working peasantry from taxes; the unemployed received work, those with little or no land received land, and conditions were created to educate the children of working people and eliminate illiteracy among the adult population.

Much was planned to be accomplished, and much was accomplished, but unfortunately the Soviet power restored in 1940 existed in peacetime conditions for just one year. In the chapter entitled "Against Slavery and Genocide" the author recalls how on 22 June 1941 fascist Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet land. Our republic was one of the first to feel the blows of the Nazi occupation forces. The book cites the directive of the fascist command, entered in the notebook of a German soldier: "You have no nerves, heart, or compassion; you are made of German steel. After the war you will acquire a new soul, a new heart -- for the benefit of your children, your wife, and Great Germany. But for now, act resolutely, without wavering" (p 24).

The "activities" of the fascist barbarians are illustrated by these horrifying figures: the German occupation forces killed 1,793,000 people in the RSFSR, 4,497,000 in the Ukraine, 2,219,000 in Belorussia, 644,000 in Latvia, 125,000 in Estonia, 64,000 in Moldavia, and about 700,000 in Lithuania (p 27). The three years of Nazi occupation were the most tragic in the history of the Lithuanian people.

But not even the cruelest fascist terror could tear their faith in Soviet power from the hearts of the people. Only a handful of renegades, bourgeois nationalists and reactionary heads of the Catholic Church, helped the Nazi aggressors. Many of them fled to the West together with the occupation forces. Finding patrons there, some of them are still trying to pass themselves off as fighters against the fascist occupation forces. This is an absolute lie. The facts presented in the book under review confirm that the anti-Soviets have sold themselves. The author proves that the Lithuanian people did not trust the Nazi killers or the propaganda of the Lithuanian quislings. They were inspired by the ideas of the great Lenin, which were brought to the masses by the Communist Party. That is why the Lithuanian people, together with the working people of all the Soviet republics, resolutely came to the defense of their freedom and their new life.

The following chapters are devoted to the decades of freedom and show what socialism has given the Lithuanian people in the past years.

The Nazi aggressors inflicted a loss of 17 billion rubles (in 1941 prices) on the economy of our republic. Nonetheless, during the first postwar five-year plan it was possible to restore the economy and culture, to regain and in some areas even surpass the prewar level.

This would not have been possible without the fraternal aid of the other Soviet peoples and the great Russian people. In the chapter entitled "The Fruits of Fraternal Aid," it is stated that intensive restoration of economic and cultural life had already begun at the time that fighting for the final liberation of Soviet Lithuania was underway. The author quotes a statement from the newspaper PRAVDA in those days, that thanks to the friendship of Soviet peoples Lithuania would be able to heal its wounds, restore its economy, continue its constructive labor together with all the peoples of our country, as it had begun to do with such enthusiasm before the war, and achieve development of its industry, agriculture, and culture (p 37).

The idea of the friendship of the Soviet peoples and socialist internationalism is a recurrent theme of every chapter in the book. Soviet Lithuania too, moving confidently along the path of socialist development, has relied on the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet peoples as one of the powerful developmental forces of socialist society. In four decades Lithuania has changed from a backward agrarian region to a highly developed industrial-agrarian republic.

New sectors of industry such as petroleum refining, chemistry, electrical equipment, and others have been established in the republic during the years of Soviet power. The fishing industry has in reality been reconstructed from the beginning. Such important industrial sectors as electricity production, building materials, fuel, wood processing, light, food, and printing have developed at a high rate. For example, just 12 kilowatt-hours of electricity a year was produced per capita of population in the republic in the pre-Soviet period. This forced people to use kerosene lamps. In 1983 electricity production in the republic was 354 times greater than in 1945 (p 61). Everyone here today knows about the hydroelectric plant on the Nyamunas in Kaunas, the huge plant in Elektrenay, and the Ignalina Atomic Power Plant. The inhabitants of contemporary cities and rural areas use electricity extensively.

While reading the chapter about development of the power industry during the years of Soviet power I recalled the struggle of the inhabitants of Kaunas for lower electricity prices in the spring of 1933. Belgian capitalists, who had acquired a 99-year monopoly on the right to supply electricity to Kaunas, paid no attention at all to development of the power system, even while charging the population 1.35 lits a kilowatt-hour. The struggle finally developed into a general boycott -- for roughly a week the city lived in darkness, like during an air alert. I was also a member of the "voluntary street guards" who checked to see that no one used electricity. The capitalists made some concessions then, but electric light remained difficult to get for the working man.

The industrialization of Soviet Lithuania helped solve many pressing socio-economic problems, and not just in the city. It also directly affected broad layers of the working peasantry, who responded to the appeal of the Communist Party and began reorganizing agriculture on a socialist basis, turning it into a highly developed, industrial, specialized sector of production in a comparatively short period of time.

The author recalls that in the years of bourgeois power peasants would rack their brains trying to find a bag or two of mineral fertilizer. The chemical industry enterprises of Lithuania today produce an average of 24 times more mineral fertilizer per hectare of agricultural land than in 1939. Between 1946 and 1983 the republic drained 77 percent of its too-moist and marshy land. Watering systems have now been set up on almost 33,000 hectares in case of insufficient moisture.

All this guarantees stable growth in agricultural output. The chapter entitled "The Socialist Countryside of Lithuania" points out that the yield of grain crops in 1983 was 2.1 times greater than in 1945, while for sugar beets the figure was 5.2 times and for vegetables it was 1.5 times. In the same period of time meat production (slaughter weight) has increased 6.2 times, milk -- 3.9 times, and eggs -- 6.7 times. Whereas the average cow at the individual farms of the working peasantry produced 1,400-1,500 kilograms of milk, at socialist animal husbandry units in 1983 the average yield per cow was 3,143 kilograms. The number of cattle has grown significantly and their quality has improved (pp 77, 78). There have significant changes in other sectors as well. Thanks to broad mechanization of crop farming jobs, specialization and concentration of production in animal husbandry, and comprehensive dissemination of the know-how of leading agricultural workers, labor productivity has risen significantly at almost all our kolkhozes and sovkhoses and expenditures for the production of a unit of output have declined.

Success in development of all the sectors of the economy is determined by people, who use the equipment entrusted to them and apply the knowledge and know-how they have acquired. The ranks of skilled workers have grown. For example, in early 1941 there were 7,200 specialists with higher education employed in the republic economy; in 1983 the figure was 189,100, 26.3 times more of them. And the total figure for specialists with higher or secondary specialized education employed in the economy of Soviet Lithuania in 1983 was 455,500. Agriculture alone employs more than 50,000 highly skilled and middle-level specialists, 46,000 tractor and machine operators, and 25,000 drivers. Each year



the higher educational institutions of the republic graduate 1,200-1,300 specialists and the sovkhoz-tekhnikums and agricultural tekhnikums graduate 5,200 specialists. The vocational-technical schools are training more and more skilled workers for agriculture. By comparison, during the years of bourgeois power virtually the only "technical specialist" in the countryside was the blacksmith (pp 73, 130).

While opening up the broad panorama of development of the economy, science, and culture in the republic, the author speaks in every chapter of comprehensive development of the Soviet person -- worker or kolkhoz member, engineer or scientist, teacher of medical worker -- the people who are the true creators of the new, socialist life. A special chapter entitled "The Welfare of the People Is the Supreme Goal of the Party" is dedicated to them. Everyone today who can and wants to evaluate reality objectively, Pyatras Grishkyavichus writes, see that the working people of the republic are living better in the years of Soviet power than ever before, and that it has been possible to achieve this primarily because the supreme goal of the Communist Party has been and remains constantly raising the material and cultural standard of living of the people (p 101).

This is illustrated by the broad program of housing construction in the republic. Between 1946 and 1983 43.2 million square meters of housing was built in Soviet Lithuania. This is almost equivalent to the total housing space of six cities such as Vilnius. Single-apartment brick houses with all urban conveniences have become a typical feature of our kolkhoz countryside. Everything possible is being done to build at least 2,000 apartments in the countryside each year by in-house and contracting procedures and to see that the number of residential buildings at farms increases at least 5,000 each year (p 84).

The reader will find in the book extensive material on the steady rise in wages of workers, employees, and kolkhoz members and expansion of social insurance programs, under which pensions to the population, benefits to invalids from the Great Patriotic War, and the like have been increased. Considerable attention is being devoted to improving and developing the system of trade and domestic service enterprises.

Medical service to the population has improved fundamentally. Whereas there were about 2,000 doctors and a small number of hospitals in bourgeois Lithuania, the population of the republic today is served by 14,700 doctors and 41,400 middle-level medical personnel. Last year our hospitals had more than 43,000 beds. The republic is one of the leaders in the Soviet Union for availability of medical personnel. But in bourgeois Lithuania it was hard for a working person to even imagine that he would ever be able to receive medical services at state expense.

The activity of sports, cultural, and tourist organizations is directed to strengthening the health of the working people and organizing active leisure for them.

The achievements of the cultural revolution in the republic, especially the flourishing of public education, have promoted a great rise in the well-being of the working people. The author tells how teachers, at a congress of cultural

workers held in 1929, pointed out that universal elementary education was impossible in Lithuania because of the shortage of teachers and schools and because the government was indifferent to this issue. The 1940 census of the population showed that there were 181,000 illiterates and 233,000 semiliterates in Lithuania at that time. Almost half a million illiterate and semiliterate people! This was a national disgrace, but it did not disturb the ruling classes.

Socialism helped the Lithuanian people eliminate this situation. Thanks to the concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet State universal compulsory secondary education was instituted and carried into effect in Lithuania during the last five-year plan. Whereas Lithuania in 1939 has just 27 "progimnazij" and 69 "gimnaziya" with 26,662 students, at the present time there are more than 20,000 teachers alone in general secondary and eight-year schools, and 496,000 students. Just between 1951 and 1983 804,100 persons (p 124) have received school-leaving certificates in the republic. And yet we also have the vocational-technical schools which offer students both secondary education and a vocation, and the secondary specialized schools which produce skilled, educated specialists.

The author also talks extensively about the development of higher education in the republic. In 1940, immediately after the restoration of Soviet power, Lithuania had seven higher educational institutions attended by 6,000 students; the republic today has 12 higher educational institutions with 69,600 students. Soviet Lithuania is second among the Union republics for number of college students per 10,000 inhabitants. The book treats the development of science in the republic and notes that a well-ordered system of scientific institutions centered around the Academy of Sciences has been established in Soviet Lithuania during the years of Soviet power.

Science's ties with production have been specially activated recently. Republic scientists are helping solve many problems of technical progress encountered by industrial enterprises and construction organizations of the republic and are helping carry out the Food Program. The author shows that the socialist order has created favorable conditions for science to become not only a powerful production force, but also an important means of improving social relations and developing the new type of human being.

We have achieved a flourishing Lithuanian Soviet culture. Becoming a constituent part of all Soviet culture, the culture of the Lithuanian people surmounted its former isolation and broadened its horizons as never before. Representatives of the different arts, just like scientists, are participating actively today in building the new society. The creative unions and societies of the republic, whose ranks number more than 7,500 persons, have grown strong. We take pride in the works of writers, the achievements of representatives of the visual arts, the creations of composers, and the work of masters of the theater and film which are known far beyond the borders of our republic. Our colorful song and dance holidays and amateur art please everyone! The flourishing of Lithuanian socialist culture, the author emphasizes, is a natural phenomenon. It is graphic testimony to the enormous advantages of the Soviet system, the nationality policy of the Communist Party, and the vital force of friendship among peoples.

The last part of the book "Four Decades of Freedom" is devoted to the party of Lenin, to which the working people of Lithuania are first of all indebted for all the achievements of socialism, for the accomplishments in the different spheres of material and nonmaterial life. Under the guidance of the CPSU Central Committee and relying on the initiative and activism of communists of different generations, the republic party organization has been in the vanguard of the working people of Soviet Lithuania for more than four decades now. It is constantly replenishing its ranks with the most conscious, active workers, engineers, employees, and representatives of the kolkhoz peasants and creative intelligentsia. We are sincerely happy, the author emphasizes, that communists today, as in the past, are laboring in the hardest jobs and that they are constantly moving forward.

This book is a fine gift for our propaganda and agitation workers, and for all of us who are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the glorious Victory and the 45th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet Power in Lithuania.

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REGIONAL

INEFFECTIVENESS OF LITHUANIA'S COMPUTER SYSTEM SCORED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Mar 85 p 2

/Article by S. Poshkus, director of the Vilnius ASU /Automated Control System Planning and Design Bureau, candidate of economic sciences and honored economist of the Lithuanian SSR: "That Expenditures Might Pay for Themselves More Quickly; Certain Problems in the Planning and Adoption of ASU's," under the rubric: "Problems and Opinions"

/Text In recent years a great deal of work has been done in the republic in terms of the introduction of computer technology to the public economy. At the present time there are more than 150 computer centers in operation at ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations. Nearly 15,000 highly skilled specialists are working at them and at subdivisions for the creation and implementation of automated control systems. Two specialized organizations have been created in the republic for research and development of ASU's--a branch of the All-Union State Planning and Technological Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration and the Vilnius ASU Planning and Design Bureau of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems.

In the last decade, more than 140 automated systems controlling various projects have been introduced. However, the ASU's that have been adopted are still rather expensive--one system costs more than 400,000 rubles, on an average. In the majority of cases, the periods of time required to develop the projects and introduce the computer technology are too high and the effectiveness of its use is too low.

There are several causes for this situation. One of these is the high cost of the computer technology itself. At first, industry mastered the production of large computers (the so-called single series computers), which required complex, expensive plans. Expenditures for the operation of this technology are quite high. Until very recently, large computers made up the foundation of the republic's computer resources, although, as a rule, the type of problems to be solved did not require capacities such as these. It was only recently, with the advent of mini- and microcomputers that the picture began to change.

Another reason for the expensiveness and ineffectiveness of computer technology is that practically all departments and even many enterprises and organizations devoted their efforts to plan creation and introduction. A great many small groups of designers emerged, whose productivity was difficult to compare with the productivity of specialized organizations. As stated previously the development of one ASU in the republic cost more than 400,000 rubles on an average. At the same time, the average cost of one system developed by the Vilnius ASU Planning and Design Bureau did not go over 190,000 rubles. The fact is that nonspecialized organizations rarely use standard planning solutions, do not adequately use contemporary technology in the development of systems, and do not coordinate their work sufficiently.

Experience indicates that in those sectors where the main systems were developed by specialized organizations and where their subsequent determination of circulation was accomplished through the efforts of their own specialists, the use effectiveness of the computer technology was significantly higher. For example, the Vilnius ASU Planning and Design Bureau developed four systems for various projects for the republic Ministry of Trade, and the subsequent determination of their circulation was accomplished through the efforts of the sector computer center. There are already more than 20 ASU's in operation in the sector at the present time, the majority of which were introduced on the basis of standard developments. Thus, organization of operations made it possible to save significant amounts of money and to accelerate the introduction of computer technology. At the present time, information processing has been automated and mechanized in almost 60 percent of ministry enterprises (with the exception of the wholesale link).

We suggested a similar method for the solution of problems in automating the information service of sectors of the agroindustrial complex, but the Ministry of Agriculture rejected these suggestions for incomprehensible reasons, and is planning the development of a system solely by their own efforts. Such a method will doubtless require large financial expenditures and will unjustifiably take a lot of time.

It is impossible not to mention lack of preparedness on the part of buyers as a reason for insufficient effectiveness in the use of computer technology. There are frequent cases where the buyer cannot clearly formulate his requirements to the developer. And when the created system has to be put into operation, it appears that certain problems are not being solved and that certain information is not being entered into the system. Changing the systems often cost more than the original development.

Buyers are still encountered who believe that just having a system and formulating problems is enough, and that it will turn them out itself. Practical experience has proven, however, that no system can function without specialists. In connection with this, the fate of the ASU for Vilnius Gorispolkom is causing definite concern. Progressive solutions

were built into the system by the developers, using the rich experience of other cities of the country, and hundreds of thousands of rubles were spent on the operation, but there is not one of the many ispolkom subdivisions that would handle ASU problems. This work has been entrusted to functional administrations. I hope it does not turn out that too many cooks spoil the broth, i.e., the money will be spent in vain.

In connection with the emergence of a new type of computer, the so-called micro- or personal computers, some reexamination of the entire concept of introducing computer technology to the public economy will be required. The time has come to bring computer technology close to its users. This is particularly important in the field of administration. In fact, no one is surprised at this point by the fact of a skilled worker working on modern equipment, loaded with electronics and costing many thousands of rubles. Why should it be tolerated that a highly skilled bookkeeper, a planning department worker, dispatcher, master, supply man are working using calculations, or at best a desktop calculator that performs only the simplest arithmetical operations?

In our opinion, the following measures are necessary in order to altogether improve and put into order operations for the assimilation of computer technology into the public economy of the republic. The development of basic ASU's of various functional designations must be accomplished by specialized organizations. They must be presented with the task of the creation of standard planning solutions (for the sectors and subdivisions of the public economy, broadly distributed production and technological processes and also for the solution of individual tasks) and the adoption of these solutions into specific main projects. These standard planning solutions must be centered in the Republic Algorithm and Program Fund (RAPF), which could function effectively, for example, at the Vilnius ASU Planning and Design Bureau base.

The processes of ASU development can be accelerated if the RAPF is charged with the responsibility of providing interested enterprises (organizations) with the necessary planning, program, procedural and other documentation and carrying out the consultation and training of specialists and the organization of activity based on experience accumulated.

Operations dealing with the introduction of standard planning solutions that have been worked out and the determination of circulation of the main base ASU's (or their individual sections) could be executed by workers at republic enterprises and organizations. They themselves would handle the necessary adaptation and development of existing planning solutions.

In our opinion, it would be advisable to create a specialized subdivision of the Vilnius ASU planning and Design Bureau in Kaunas (based on the presence there of the required engineering personnel) for the planning and adoption of ASU's through technological processes.

Of course, implementation of all these measures will require some organizational restructuring, as well as consolidation and development of the corresponding material-technical base. The republic cannot solve a portion of these problems through its own efforts. However, taking into consideration the fact that a number of union ministries and departments, including the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, support the development of operations in this direction, these suggestions could be fully realized during the 12th Five-Year Plan. The public economy as a whole will benefit from this.

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## REGIONAL

## LITHUANIAN TRANSLATION PROJECT ANNOUNCED

[Editorial Report] Vilnius LITVA LITERATURNAYA in Russian No 2, March-April 1985 carries on pages 173-175 an interview with Vitautas Visotskas, deputy editor in chief of the Lithuanian publishing house "Vaga". Visotskas discusses the projected publication of a series of Lithuanian translations of great works of literature by Russian, European, American, and classical writers. Visotskas states that more than 200 translators are already working on this project, which is the first of its kind to be undertaken in Lithuania. The library will consist of approximately 120 volumes of 500-600 pages each and will represent the works of 250 authors. Publication of the library is scheduled for 1986-1995, with 12 volumes appearing each year.

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## GRISHKYAVICHUS WRITES BOOK ON WW II, SOVIET LITHUANIA

[Editorial Report] Vilnius LITVA LITERATURNAYA in Russian No 2, March-April 1985 carries on pages 19-51 several chapters from a new book by Pyatras Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP. The book, titled "Four Decades of Free Development," discusses Lithuania's struggle against Hitler's forces in WW II, and also the 45-year history of Soviet rule and socialist development in the republic. The entire book will be published soon in Russian.

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